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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

Before The Honorable Edward M. Chen, Judge

CRISTA RAMOS; et al.,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
VS.	)	NO. C 18-01554 EMC
	)	
KIRSTJEN NIELSEN; et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	
_____	)	

San Francisco, California  
Friday, June 22, 2018

**TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS**

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Friday - June 22, 2018

10:33 a.m.

P R O C E E D I N G S

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**THE CLERK:** Calling case C 18-1554, Ramos versus Nielsen.

Counsel, please come to the podium and say your name for the record.

**MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Good morning, Your Honor. Ahilan Arulanantham for the plaintiffs.

**THE COURT:** All right. Good morning.

**MS. BANSAL:** Good morning, Your Honor. Jessica Karp Bansal for the plaintiffs.

**THE COURT:** Thank you.

**MR. MARTIN:** Good morning, Your Honor. Rhett Martin for the defendants.

**THE COURT:** All right. Thank you, Mr. Martin.

Do y'all want to make an appearance?

**MS. DEGEN:** Good morning, Your Honor. Alycia Degen for plaintiffs.

**MS. MacLEAN:** Good morning, Your Honor. Emilou MacLean for the plaintiffs.

**THE COURT:** All right. Thank you.

We are on, first and foremost, this morning for hearing on defendants' motion to dismiss, and I think the first issue we have to address, of course, is the jurisdictional-stripping

1 provision in 2554a; but before we get into that, I just want to  
2 make sure I understand exactly what the theory of the  
3 plaintiffs are.

4 The plaintiffs are challenging not the designation or  
5 undesignation of the four countries *per se* as designated  
6 under -- for Temporary Protected Status but the change in the  
7 rule or interpretation of that statute; is that right?

8 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** That's correct, Your Honor. As to  
9 the APA claim, that's correct, Your Honor.

10 **THE COURT:** And is the change -- what is the scope of  
11 the alleged change? Is it not considering any current and  
12 intervening circumstances or disasters or not considering those  
13 which have some exacerbating or prolongation of the originating  
14 condition? And does that make any difference in this case? I  
15 don't know.

16 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Well, I think if you look, for  
17 example, at the Nicaragua designation, in 2012 they  
18 specifically say the roads were -- you know, I may be mixing  
19 them up. Hold on one moment, Your Honor.

20 **THE COURT:** Yeah.

21 (Pause in proceedings.)

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** If you look at the El Salvador  
23 designation, Your Honor, in 2012 when they're extending and  
24 they say the roads from the earthquake damage have been  
25 repaired but there's other problems with the roads.

1 If you look at Haiti, Haiti is designated because of an  
2 earthquake in 2010; but then when it's extended, they look to  
3 Hurricane Matthew. Hurricane Matthew is not caused by the  
4 earthquake in 2010.

5 So I think it's clear that there is no way to --

6 **THE COURT:** And it was not extended because under the  
7 rubric of Hurricane Matthew having exacerbated the conditions  
8 of the earthquake? In other words, it in and of itself was a  
9 condition that was sufficient to extend TPS?

10 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** The exception that you're  
11 describing could, I suppose, swallow the rule. It's difficult  
12 at this point to know whether -- you know, how now the  
13 government is trying to draw the line to justify the change  
14 that's happened; but if you look at the statements that were  
15 made by the government officials, and they said, for example,  
16 Secretary Kelly (reading):

17 "The program TPS is for a specific event. In Haiti it  
18 was the earthquake. Haiti had horrible conditions before  
19 the earthquake. Those conditions aren't much better  
20 after, but the earthquake was why TPS was granted. That's  
21 how I have to look at it."

22 Does that permit consideration of Hurricane Matthew  
23 because it has an exacerbating effect on the earthquake? I  
24 don't know, but they didn't mention Hurricane Matthew when they  
25 terminated TPS for Haiti and they had mentioned it previously.

1           So whether the government now wants to try and shoehorn  
2   what is, we allege, a change by creating a new conceptual  
3   framework and saying you can put, you know, the intervening  
4   conditions that they used to consider into this box, I think  
5   that's going to be a factual -- I mean, that is a factual  
6   dispute then, and we're entitled to show that their *post hoc*  
7   explanatory theory can't actually capture all of the actual  
8   phenomena here.

9           And so what we're alleging is it used to focus -- permit  
10   consideration of intervening conditions. Now --

11           **THE COURT:** Irrespective of whether it was  
12   specifically tied to exacerbating original condition, some of  
13   them were independent of the original condition?

14           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, Your Honor, that it used to  
15   permit them regardless of whether or not they were actually  
16   exacerbating, and that now the focus is on the originating  
17   condition and you don't look at whether they're exacerbating.

18           But, again, as I said, if they want to try to shoehorn  
19   everything into this, you know, new account of their changed  
20   practice, that's a factual dispute and we're entitled to say  
21   that, "Oh, Secretary Kelly didn't understand it that way when  
22   he terminated Haiti or when he terminated TPS for El Salvador."

23           Does that answer your question, Your Honor?

24           **THE COURT:** Yeah, it does. We may get into some  
25   factual questions if we get to, like, Darfur. Sudan, for

1 instance, that probably has the most extensive analysis of  
2 current conditions compared so some other ones. If you look at  
3 El Salvador in the 2016 extension, there are a number of things  
4 that were referenced, such as water access, coffee rust  
5 epidemic, various things that were cited and that were omitted  
6 are not addressed in the 2018 termination. I guess that's your  
7 point.

8 So maybe there's a bit of a mixed record here. Some  
9 statements are a bit more robust than others, but I just want  
10 to make sure I understand the theory of your case.

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, Your Honor.

12 And to be clear, is what we were saying in the brief we  
13 just filed yesterday I guess it was -- it's been a long 24  
14 hours -- if, in fact, we have not adequately pled even for  
15 12(b)(6) purposes that there is an unexplained departure from  
16 the prior practice, then we lose on 12(b)(6) for the APA claim,  
17 but that has nothing to do with whether there's a subject  
18 matter jurisdiction dispute, 12(b)(1) dispute, based on  
19 1254a(b)(5), the jurisdiction-stripping provision. Because for  
20 purposes of that, you presume that there is an unexplained  
21 departure or a new rule and ask: Would the court have the  
22 power to remedy that under the APA if, in fact, there is an  
23 unexplained departure?

24 And so that whole debate about whether or not there's a  
25 new rule, it has nothing to do with the subject matter

1 jurisdiction dispute. It only has nothing to do with whether  
2 or not we have stated a claim. So we're entitled to  
3 discovery -- if we have stated a claim, if we've gotten that  
4 far, then we should get to find out what were the documents  
5 that Secretary Kelly had in front of him when he made the  
6 statement in his testimony.

7 Secretary Nielsen made an even clearer one. She said  
8 (reading):

9 "The law really restricts my ability to extend TPS.  
10 The law says that if the effects of the originating  
11 event" -- so that's a causation issue -- "do not continue  
12 to exist, then the Secretary of Homeland Security must  
13 terminate."

14 So what was she looking at when she said that? Was she  
15 looking at a memo that said, "Oh, well, if it's an exacerbating  
16 condition, if the hurricane causes the earthquake recovery  
17 effort to get worse, then you can look at it"; or was she  
18 looking at a memo that said "Originating condition, intervening  
19 condition"? It's very black and white and we're entitled to  
20 find out if there is such a memo; and if there is, obviously,  
21 then that would suggest that --

22 **THE COURT:** Well, to get there, you have to get past  
23 the very first question. That is, assuming, for instance, that  
24 your assertions of a new policy or new interpretation are true,  
25 and that may be disputed, but assuming that that's been alleged



1 and adequately alleged, does that escape the  
2 jurisdictional-stripping provision? That's what I want to  
3 address now. I think that's the most critical question.

4 And so --

5 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I'm happy to start, but I think  
6 it's their motion so they should probably begin.

7 **THE COURT:** Well, it's your motion and I have a couple  
8 questions for you, Counsel.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** Good morning, Your Honor.

10 **THE COURT:** Good morning.

11 It is fairly clear, is it not, that there is a presumption  
12 of review, there's a strong presumption that actions of federal  
13 agencies are reviewable but upon a showing of clear and  
14 convincing evidence of a contrary legislative intent, that can  
15 be overcome?

16 So you have that presumption, and then you have the  
17 presumption about review -- judicial review where  
18 constitutional claims have been asserted because that raises  
19 separation-of-power questions if you were to find that there is  
20 no jurisdiction.

21 So starting with that and then combining that with the  
22 Supreme Court's decision in the *Catholic Social Services* case  
23 and the *McNary* case, which seemed to construe the term  
24 "determination" to mean determinations in a sort of  
25 case-by-case basis. If it's an individual, it's an individual

1 adjustment situation. If it's a country-by-country under TPS,  
2 you look at each determination, but not to general challenges  
3 to sort of procedures or more systemic policies or changes,  
4 which is what the plaintiffs are alleging here.

5 **MR. MARTIN:** Right.

6 **THE COURT:** So why would, in view of the presumption,  
7 in view of the Supreme Court precedent, which have narrowly  
8 construed the word "determination" to mean sort of individual  
9 determinations and not systemic sort of issues, why would that  
10 preclude judicial review here?

11 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, I think there are a couple of  
12 reasons, Your Honor. First, 1254a says "any determination" and  
13 it would be impossible to separate out the ultimate decision to  
14 terminate itself from the various balancing of the factors that  
15 the Secretary of Homeland Security had to take into account,  
16 that it sweeps in everything that plaintiffs are trying to  
17 challenge here, whether the new rule or the ultimate  
18 termination itself.

19 And I think the distinction between the case here and  
20 *McNary* and the *Catholic Services* can be seen in terms of the  
21 relief. You know, the relief that was awarded in *McNary* was  
22 not an award of special agricultural worker status. It was the  
23 right to have a redo of an application for that sought status  
24 in light of new procedures if they prevail upon their claim  
25 that the procedures were in violation of due process.

1 Here plaintiffs are seeking a rescission of the  
2 terminations themselves, and there's no way to reach that  
3 without reviewing the determination.

4 **THE COURT:** Well, but the ultimate -- if you're  
5 looking at the ultimate relief, the rescission -- if what  
6 they're seeking is a rescission of these determinations, that  
7 would not preclude a redetermination further that's  
8 procedurally correct, for instance.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** If this were in the *McNary* sort of world,  
10 that would be true, Your Honor; but our position is that we're  
11 not because, first of all, the new rule doesn't exist, which  
12 can be determined on the face of the Federal Register notices  
13 alone; and, secondly, even if it did, what they're calling a  
14 new rule is part and parcel of the determination itself. There  
15 is no way to segregate out the decision to terminate from --

16 **THE COURT:** Well, wasn't that true in *Catholic Social*  
17 *Services* and *McNary*? I mean, they were challenging INS's  
18 interpretation of certain criteria which determined whether  
19 adjustment of status was available or not. I mean, so it  
20 informed the determination in the case and, in fact, they said  
21 that ultimately in a deportation context, perhaps, you know,  
22 these issues could be raised.

23 So it does -- it is tied up in both situations. The  
24 determination of the systemic problem has an impact on the  
25 individual case. I don't know how you can separate that in

1 either one of those.

2 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, in *Catholic Services*, for instance,  
3 it was a rule making. You know, it was a formal rule that was  
4 being challenged or regulation that was being challenged. And  
5 in *McNary* it was the formalized procedures about how you would  
6 apply for this status.

7 There's nothing like that here. What we're challenging  
8 here is the Secretary's discretionary weighing of the statutory  
9 factors that lies -- that has been entrusted to the Secretary  
10 by Congress and lies uniquely within the executive's competency  
11 over foreign policy.

12 There is no way to extrapolate from that a rule that says,  
13 "You know, this particular factor must be weighed this much and  
14 this factor must be weighed another," or how the Secretaries  
15 come to that decision. This is -- the determination  
16 encompasses, as it says in the statute, any determination,  
17 encompasses every aspect of the decision-making process.

18 And so for --

19 **THE COURT:** So you would emphasize the word "any"? Is  
20 that why it's broader than just "determination"? I'm not sure  
21 what other word could be used when describing -- if you  
22 intended to focus on the determination country by country, the  
23 designation, I don't know what other word you would use besides  
24 "any."

25 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, that is emphasizing that it's

1 all-encompassing in terms of the factors that the Secretaries  
2 are considering, and it's also worth noting that the  
3 legislative history says none of the decisions with respect to  
4 TPS should be subject to judicial review.

5 **THE COURT:** But it's not specific in terms of --  
6 again, that sort of echoes the language of the statute. I'm  
7 not sure it sheds much light on, for instance, challenges to  
8 constitutional or systemic-type issues.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, our position would be that "none"  
10 and "any" are both sort of unqualified terms that sweep within  
11 them every aspect of the decision-making process.

12 **THE COURT:** What about the fact that in *McNary* the  
13 Supreme Court, as part of its analysis, talks about if judicial  
14 review were limited, that is a challenge that's of this nature  
15 here where there's a constitutional challenge or to the  
16 interpretation status challenge, were to be reviewed, it would  
17 be only in the context of, for instance, a deportation?

18 If we got to the removal proceeding, then there would be  
19 judicial review but that would be limited to the administrative  
20 record and subject to narrow abuse of discretion review, which  
21 the court said would not be consistent normally with a  
22 constitutional challenge, which then suggests that Congress did  
23 not intend to cabin everything with the jurisdictional-  
24 stripping statute and to allow room for a broader  
25 constitutional challenge.

1           **MR. MARTIN:** Well, whether it's framed as an APA  
2 challenge or a constitutional challenge, Your Honor, at the end  
3 of the day, the challenge would require the judiciary to make  
4 its own independent assessment of the factors and the  
5 sufficiency of the explanation given of those factors in the  
6 Federal Register notices, and it is that that the jurisdiction  
7 prohibition addresses.

8           **THE COURT:** Well, I'm not sure I understand that. So  
9 you're saying if there's a constitutional challenge, that would  
10 be done within the framework of the APA; and, therefore, even  
11 if that were allowed, you would still be limited to the record,  
12 that the APA scope of review would be no broader than the scope  
13 of review on a removal order?

14           **MR. MARTIN:** Our position, yes, that the -- if we're  
15 talking about the discovery issues for a moment, that the  
16 review here must at least start with the administrative record.

17           **THE COURT:** Of course, there are exceptions under the  
18 APA -- I guess we'll talk about that later -- in terms of when  
19 you can go beyond the record.

20           But, still, the court, notwithstanding all that, in the  
21 *McNary* case, in addition to the fact that the term "a  
22 determination" describes a single act rather than a group of  
23 decisions or a practice or procedure employed in making  
24 decisions, noted sort of the implications. If you didn't allow  
25 for judicial review of constitutional claims or an

1 interpretation claim that's systemic, the normal route of  
2 judicial review would be so constricted in the context of an  
3 adjustment of status or removal proceeding that that would be  
4 inconsistent with the normal way you adjudicate constitutional  
5 or broader claims, and that seems to apply here as well.

6 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, the -- again, to -- not to be  
7 repetitive, but the existence or not of this collateral  
8 practice or policy can be determined on the face of the Federal  
9 Register notices, and it is our position that the  
10 determinations here are consistent and reflect and mirror  
11 determinations and extensions and designations given for TPS by  
12 every prior Administration, and that on that fact the new-rule  
13 theory is a predicate for subject matter jurisdiction here, and  
14 plaintiffs have not sufficiently shown that such a new rule or  
15 practice exists.

16 **THE COURT:** Well, all right. That gets in part to the  
17 merits questions, which we'll get to in a moment, but I'm  
18 trying to get to the interpretation question and whether *McNary*  
19 and *Catholic Social Services* is really controlling or  
20 persuasive to the instant situation.

21 The court in *McNary* also notes that if Congress really  
22 intended to limit review to bar broader statutory  
23 constitutional challenges, they could have done so and give an  
24 example of the kind of language that Congress could have used.  
25 And, again, doesn't that argument apply here?

1           **MR. MARTIN:** Well, Your Honor, there's -- different  
2 Congresses have chosen different languages over time for  
3 judicial jurisdiction-stripping provisions such as the one  
4 here. The language here is unqualified. The legislative  
5 history confirms that the language is unqualified. And, again,  
6 it's hard for us to see how what plaintiffs are calling the  
7 policy or practice could be separated from each individual  
8 determination.

9           **THE COURT:** Well, the court gives an example. It said  
10 that the Congress could have used, as happens in the veterans  
11 benefits context, barring review as to -- on all questions --  
12 quote, "on all questions of law and fact" as opposed to  
13 determination with respect to designation, termination,  
14 extension of TPS status.

15           So, I mean, that's just one of several factors but, I  
16 mean, it seems like that argument or that concern would apply  
17 here as well.

18           **MR. MARTIN:** Congress could have certainly chosen  
19 different language, but the language again here is unqualified  
20 and broad; and whether it's any question of law or fact or any  
21 determination or I think the legislative history says, you  
22 know, none of the decisions, those are all unqualified and I  
23 think broader than the provisions in -- examples given in  
24 *McNary*.

25           **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me hear from the



1 other side on that point.

2 One, the breadth of the language, the fact that it would  
3 seem to literally apply on its face, "any" -- it says "any  
4 determination," and your theory would affect that  
5 determination. It may be the challenge is to an underlying  
6 broader systemic issue but it does affect any determination.

7 And how do you respond to counsel's comment about the two  
8 Supreme Court cases if you look at the relief sought, it is  
9 different in kind than the relief sought here?

10 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, Your Honor. So, first, with  
11 respect to "any," the statute in *Demore v. Kim* said no court  
12 may set aside any action or decision by the Attorney General,  
13 that it wasn't good enough to preclude review of a challenge to  
14 that legislation.

15 That happened to be on constitutional grounds, but I think  
16 the rationale that the court used was to cite *Johnson v.*  
17 *Robison* and *Webster v. Doe*. If you look at the statute in  
18 *Johnson v. Robison*, it said "the decisions of the administrator  
19 on any question of law or fact under any law of the Veterans  
20 Administration." That wasn't good enough to preclude review of  
21 a constitutional claim.

22 And then *Bowen*, which is four years before the TPS statute  
23 is enacted -- so it's clearly they're legislating against that  
24 background, that backdrop -- *Bowen* is "No findings of fact or  
25 decision of the Secretary shall be reviewed by any tribunal

1 except as herein provided." So that's not "any" but it's "no  
2 decision."

3 These cases are not about whether they use "any" or "a" or  
4 "no." They're about the baseline presumption of administrative  
5 review of agency action as Your Honor had stated.

6 And some of these statutes are quite a lot clearer than  
7 the statute that we have here. Unless you say that you intend  
8 to preclude constitutional claims and unless you specify the  
9 scope beyond just determination and say "We're talking about  
10 something much broader," the courts do not read those to  
11 preclude review of constitutional -- of claims that do not go  
12 to the particular determination or decision or whatever you --  
13 whatever you want to call it.

14 And --

15 **THE COURT:** What's an example of language that has  
16 been construed to bar -- is there an example of that to bar  
17 even systemic or constitutional challenges?

18 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** There's not an example of one  
19 that's been read to bar constitutional challenges because the  
20 courts have been very careful to avoid the massive  
21 constitutional problem and sort of a conundrum of federal  
22 courts of whether or not they could entirely strip judicial  
23 review of constitutional claims. This statute is not close to  
24 clear enough to ask this Court to weigh into that extremely  
25 difficult question.

1        Statutory claims -- certainly Section 1252(b)(9) says no  
2        question of law or fact -- and I can't remember the exact  
3        wording of it. We cited it in our brief. But it's question of  
4        law or fact, and you heard that in some of the other ones, any  
5        question of law or fact.

6                **THE COURT:** Yeah.

7                **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** That, I think, would preclude legal  
8        claims, although they have other scope limitations like "under  
9        this subsection." You know, so the language Your Honor just  
10       was referring to with my friend in *Johnson v. Robison*, the  
11       Veterans Administration case, says "any question of law or fact  
12       under any law administered by the Veterans Administration."

13       And so then we've got that, you know, analogy here because  
14       we've got "any determination of the Attorney General with  
15       respect to the designation, termination, or extension under  
16       this subsection." And so, you know, there's a separate  
17       question: Well, what does "under this subsection" mean? And  
18       under their view, I don't think it means anything actually. I  
19       don't understand what their theory is for how that phrase  
20       limits this provision.

21       But to us, it limits it by specifying that the challenge  
22       has to arise from this subsection, that is subsection (b),  
23       which is the subsection which gives the Secretary the authority  
24       to extend or terminate TPS decisions.

25       And what the statute says is, the Secretary has to

1 determine -- they use the word "determine" -- that the country  
2 no longer continues to meet the conditions for designation.  
3 And so that's what the statute bars review of. If you say,  
4 "Oh, we disagree about whether the coffee rust/leaf rust  
5 epidemic actually has abated sufficiently to permit the return  
6 of people to El Salvador," you know, that's the determination  
7 that the statute is directing you to in subsection (b) because  
8 that's what it says, "under this subsection." If that's your  
9 challenge, then there's a jurisdictional problem; that you're  
10 challenging whether the country no longer continues to meet the  
11 conditions for designation.

12 We obviously do not challenge that. Our challenge is to  
13 the criteria that go into making that determination. And the  
14 rule that says that the government has to explain and justify  
15 massive revision to the criteria, that arises from the APA.  
16 It's the APA that requires the government to explain when it  
17 engages in a substantial --

18 **THE COURT:** But in the literal sense, changing the  
19 criteria as you allege that results in a termination,  
20 challenging that in a sense is a challenge to the termination.  
21 It's the basis of the termination.

22 If they had made a factual basis using the same criteria,  
23 let's say they took all the conditions and considered  
24 intervening hurricanes and volcanoes and droughts and said,  
25 "We've looked at it, determined that they're not as severe

1 anymore, even though that was only 6 months ago or 12 months  
2 ago," that would I would think you would concede to be a  
3 termination -- a determination that's probably not reviewable  
4 if it's done on the facts, an assessment.

5 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes. I'm a little nervous about  
6 conceding to any hypothetical without getting it precisely; but  
7 if it's a challenge to whether or not the country no longer  
8 continues to meet the conditions for designation, if that's the  
9 challenge, then it's barred by the statute.

10 **THE COURT:** Okay.

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** And, Your Honor, this sort of  
12 pertains also to your relief question, the other question you  
13 had.

14 **THE COURT:** Yes. What about that?

15 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** So whether or not somebody is a  
16 CSS, whether or not somebody has engaged in a brief, innocent,  
17 or casual departure from the United States so that it  
18 interrupts their presence and bars them from legalizing --  
19 that's the issue in CSS -- obviously if you say, "Oh, they've  
20 wrongly interpreted the phrase 'brief, innocent, or casual  
21 departure,'" the effect is that you undo the denial of the  
22 legalization application and it's a legal question.

23 And CSS, the effect of the decision is to revoke I think  
24 thousands of denials of legalization of status. And if you  
25 look at the Ninth Circuit cases that we cite -- *Immigrant*

1 *Assistance Project, Proyecto San Pablo* -- they're extending the  
2 application period. That's the relief they're granting and  
3 they're letting people who were denied legalization just do it  
4 again.

5 So then -- and this is standard agency law practice;  
6 right? The court sets aside the administrative agency's  
7 decision and you vacate the decision, and that's the relief  
8 that you're granted and that's the relief we seek here:  
9 Vacate -- set aside the TPS determinations.

10 That doesn't mean that they're barred by the stripping  
11 statutes. It always depends on the reason why you are saying  
12 the action was illegal; and if the reason why the action was  
13 illegal is because it was unconstitutional or because there was  
14 a problem with the legal interpretation of the underlying rule,  
15 then the courts permit it.

16 And the same is true of *McNary*. You can see it says in  
17 the decision they're reopening the cases of people who were  
18 denied legalization under the special agricultural RCRA  
19 program.

20 **THE COURT:** So the scope of relief is analogous. It  
21 doesn't make the ultimate determination of removability or not  
22 but --

23 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** It just means that -- yes, exactly,  
24 Your Honor. You set aside the decision. If they came back and  
25 explained their departure in a reasoned way, I mean, that would

1 be open to the agency to try to come up with a reasoned  
2 decision that would justify terminating TPS; or to, I think,  
3 perhaps adopt a good faith approach I would say they should  
4 reconsider the decision under appropriate legal criteria and  
5 they can make a new decision. Your Honor isn't saying under  
6 the new APA claim that they can't make a new decision after you  
7 set it aside.

8 Your Honor, there was a little discussion of discovery. I  
9 could save it for later or I can talk about it now.

10 **THE COURT:** Well, why don't we get through the various  
11 claims because discovery may also hinge on the availability of  
12 the -- or the viability of the other substantive claims. So  
13 why don't we --

14 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I'll postpone this question about  
15 whether the administrative record is sufficient.

16 **THE COURT:** Right. Right.

17 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Does Your Honor have further  
18 questions as to the --

19 **THE COURT:** No. I want to talk about the due process  
20 while you're up here to understand the limits and the theory of  
21 your due process claim first on behalf of the citizen children.

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Your Honor, if I may, excuse me. I  
23 should have said this at the outset but my co-counsel,  
24 Ms. Bansal, will be doing the equal protection and APA and TPS  
25 holder claims, I'm doing the children's claim, if that's

1 permissible with the Court.

2 **THE COURT:** All right. That's fine.

3 What's the limit of your theory? I mean, if the idea that  
4 anything that causes -- and it's not -- that causes separation  
5 of parent from the child implicates -- I believe you're talking  
6 about substantive due process not procedural due process --  
7 implicates a liberty claim that's protected by due process, the  
8 government says, well, that would undermine, you know, any kind  
9 of -- in any context where a parent is removed because they  
10 don't have legal status here or whether a parent is  
11 incarcerated or, you know, any such situation. What's the  
12 limit of your theory and what is the scope of review? If one  
13 were to find a liberty interest here, what is the standard of  
14 scrutiny?

15 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** So let me just answer that last  
16 question first. The scope of review is the review available in  
17 *Moore v. City of East Cleveland*, *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*,  
18 which is to say the government has to have a significant  
19 interest in forcing the child to choose between their --

20 **THE COURT:** Significant interest more than any  
21 conceivable interest under typical rational basis review?

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** It's sometimes been called rational  
23 basis with the teeth as Your Honor noted at the last hearing,  
24 and you certainly can win a claim under that as the  
25 Supreme Court cases establish, but it's not strict scrutiny.



1 It's not a fundamental right to be denied that force choice,  
2 which is the claim that's rejected, for example, in the  
3 Ninth Circuit cases the government relies on.

4 To go more broadly to this question about what the  
5 limiting principle is, there is clearly an interest that every  
6 citizen child has in living with their parents and in this  
7 country. So there's no question in our view that every child  
8 has that interest. That's true regardless of their age and  
9 regardless of the reason why the deportation is happening, but  
10 it doesn't follow that the immigration law will be destroyed or  
11 that there's no way to have deportations of people who have  
12 citizen children because this is just a rational basis test;  
13 right?

14 So the government has an interest that comes into bear  
15 when you do the balancing. And it doesn't even have to be  
16 something that would happen on a case-by-case basis because you  
17 can look categorically at the government's interest, like in  
18 the Adam Walsh Act in *Gebhardt*. These are people who have been  
19 convicted of sex offenses, and so the government has an obvious  
20 manifest interest in protecting the children in that case.

21 You know, here the protection-of-the-children interest  
22 runs the other way; right? These are citizen children of this  
23 country who are now potentially going to be sent to places that  
24 are dangerous, that our country was very recently describing as  
25 too unsafe for the return of any of their nationals. So that's

1 just a factor that goes into the balance.

2 Similarly --

3 **THE COURT:** But if you say that the government can  
4 assert a categorical interest to satisfy the *Moore* test,  
5 doesn't the government have a categorical interest in enforcing  
6 the TPS scheme? And this is a Temporary Protected Status as  
7 meant for -- you know, as the purposes set forth in the  
8 statute, to provide temporary protection for those from, you  
9 know, calamitous-type situations and conditions back in their  
10 native country but it's not meant to be a permanent.

11 So why doesn't the government have at least a rational or  
12 significant interest in enforcing its TPS scheme that has been  
13 enacted?

14 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I think this goes to another way in  
15 which our claim is different from all of the claims that are  
16 addressed in prior cases, which is the relief we're seeking  
17 here is also only temporary, and we're only asking that people  
18 be allowed to live with their parents and in their country  
19 until they reach the age of adulthood.

20 **THE COURT:** So would that mean that even if the  
21 Secretary had properly made a procedurally proper determination  
22 of terminating TPS status, let's say for Sudan, that your claim  
23 is that the child would still have a constitutional due process  
24 interest not to have his or her parent go back to Sudan even  
25 under a properly applied, within the statute, TPS

1 determination?

2 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, Your Honor. And if we get  
3 past the motion to dismiss, we would expect the Court to  
4 address this issue on the merits only if the Court first found  
5 that the TPS holders had no claim. So it's only if we lose the  
6 APA claim, lose equal protection, lose due process for the TPS  
7 holders that the Court would then address this issue.

8 And, yes, it is a right. Even if -- even if Sudan now no  
9 longer meets the conditions for designation, you still have a  
10 problem. You have, you know, Hnaida Cenemat wants to play flag  
11 football next year. They don't play flag football in Haiti.  
12 She's a teenager. She's grown up here her whole life.

13 Even if the Secretary dots all the Is and crosses all the  
14 Ts in terminating TPS, you still have now children having to  
15 make this very, very difficult force choice. And so the  
16 question the due process clause asks is: Does the government  
17 have a significant interest in forcing them to make that choice  
18 now rather than allowing them to wait until they become adults  
19 when, you know, obviously children leave their, you know,  
20 parents and go off into the world once they become adults?

21 And --

22 **THE COURT:** And that would apply regardless of the  
23 legal -- putting aside TPS, wouldn't your argument apply  
24 regardless of the legal immigration status of the parent?

25 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** No, Your Honor. Again, it turns on

1 the government's interests in each particular context. So, for  
2 example, a person who has been here unlawfully, and the  
3 government then has a stronger interest in enforcing the  
4 immigration law than it does for people who have lived here  
5 lawfully between the --

6 **THE COURT:** So that would overcome the due process  
7 rights of the citizen child who was born here, for instance,  
8 and would be forced with the same sort of Hobson's choice that  
9 you posit about having to go back with their undocumented  
10 parent to their home -- to the parent's native country or live  
11 without that parent? That same Hobson's choice would obtain,  
12 but you're saying in that instance there's a significant  
13 government interest if the person is not here illegally?

14 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Well, it's a different question,  
15 Your Honor. That is -- I'm not saying that that person always  
16 loses or maybe they lose, maybe they win, but it's a different  
17 question because the government's interest is manifestly  
18 stronger.

19 And this just goes to one other point I want to make on  
20 this, Your Honor. There's no question that this claim that  
21 we're raising, there's no case before that has addressed this  
22 same claim. It's novel. But that's not surprising because  
23 what we have here is a situation where the government -- as far  
24 as we can tell, this has not happened in our country's history.

25 You've got a set of 200 -- actually 400,000 people, all

1    TPS holders, but, you know, more than 200,000 from these  
2    countries, who have lived here lawfully for at least 8 years,  
3    and in many cases for decades, so they've lived here lawfully  
4    for 20 years and now there's not any allegation that they  
5    individually did anything wrong.

6           **THE COURT:** That's not the criteria. That's not what  
7    TPS is set up for. It's not about wrong or right behavior.  
8    It's about conditions -- temporary conditions in the native  
9    country.

10          **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yeah, absolutely, Your Honor. This  
11    is an argument that even if the statute were properly followed  
12    where you've allowed people to live here lawfully for 20 years,  
13    that you cannot then -- I mean, people -- often people have  
14    children when they've lived in a place for 20 years. And so  
15    then it gives rise to different kinds of rights than what we  
16    have seen in other cases.

17          And if the government had repeatedly, for example, say,  
18    canceled the green cards of people who were married on the  
19    ground that "We don't want to favor those anymore," or said  
20    "Children who are adopted no longer can adjust their status,  
21    and so we're getting rid of that," then we would have seen  
22    cases like this and this issue would have been addressed.  
23    Those are actually, I think, closer analogies to what we have  
24    here, people lawfully living here for a long period of time --  
25    yes, under a temporary program, it's true, but they're lawfully

1 living here -- and then through no fault of their own the  
2 government seeks to take away their status, which puts their  
3 children then into this impossible choice.

4 And that's the reason why I think it's different from a  
5 situation Your Honor describes where, well, if a person has  
6 unlawfully lived here for a long time. Well, the government  
7 hasn't blessed their presence and so its interest in enforcing  
8 the immigration law is greater in that instance.

9 You know, a person who --

10 **THE COURT:** Why is it greater than allowing somebody  
11 to come conditionally subject to certain conditions and then  
12 determining those conditions no longer apply? Why doesn't the  
13 government have that same interest, say, in enforcing that law  
14 as it would in enforcing law that restricts entry in the first  
15 place?

16 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** And, again, Your Honor, I think it  
17 really turns a lot on the fact that this is temporary. The  
18 relief that we're talking about that would be granted here in  
19 order to vindicate this constitutional right is also still  
20 temporary so it doesn't change the -- it doesn't change the  
21 temporary nature of the program. It just provides the people  
22 who have children, those school-age children -- they'll still  
23 be forced to endure a brutal choice but they'll be forced into  
24 it once they're adults rather than while they're still  
25 children.

1           And I think that certainly renders it different from all  
2 of the cases that both sides have cited for where what people  
3 are seeking is the right to live here permanently. So if you  
4 look at the suspension of deportation cases -- or in *Gebhardt*  
5 it's adjustment of status, in *Morales* it's to adjust through  
6 marriage -- these are people -- all of these people are trying  
7 to win the right to permanently reside in the United States.

8           And usually -- *Gebhardt* is an unusual exception -- usually  
9 the plaintiff is the noncitizen. You know, and here I think if  
10 you look at it from the child's perspective because our  
11 plaintiff, the lead plaintiff in this case is Crista Ramos, you  
12 know, she's a teenager. She's here in the courtroom today  
13 actually as are some of the other children and also their  
14 parents in this case. You know, she is a teenager who has  
15 grown up in this country. From her perspective, there is no --  
16 there is no government interest in her being forced to be sent  
17 to a country that is -- it's the highest murder rate in the  
18 world outside of a war zone, El Salvador is, and --

19           **THE COURT:** But the action being challenged, that's a  
20 consequence of enforcement. I mean, the action is not directly  
21 on her. She's not being ordered to be deported. The question  
22 is: Does the government have an interest in removing those who  
23 no longer enjoy TPS status or any other legal status? And I  
24 guess the way you would phrase it is removing them now as  
25 opposed to waiting until their child reaches majority age.

1           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** That's correct, Your Honor.

2           **THE COURT:** And, you know, I would assume -- I'll give  
3 counsel a chance to respond, but I assume the response is, you  
4 know, there is an immigration law that sets forth certain  
5 requirements and priorities in terms of who can be admitted,  
6 under what circumstances, and for how long, and the government  
7 has at least a general categorical interest in being able to  
8 enforce those laws so long as the laws themselves don't  
9 contravene the Constitution. For instance, you know, if  
10 there's another constitutional problem, equal protection  
11 problem, it's different.

12           But if it's a lawfully enacted statute, doesn't the  
13 government have -- and this is not a compelling-interest test.  
14 This is, as you say, rational basis with a bite. I'm not sure  
15 exactly what that means, but a very significantly lower  
16 standard of review constitutionally.

17           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Your Honor, I think, if I may, when  
18 you say, well, it has to be duly enacted, there may be other  
19 constitutional constraints. I think that is the central issue  
20 for us as to whether or not we're going to survive the motion  
21 to dismiss on this claim.

22           If the government, for example, could discriminate on the  
23 basis of race and say "We want to get rid of all the people  
24 who, you know, are" -- I won't use the ugly words -- but, you  
25 know, "made some racist statement," and then if Congress wrote



1 a law that enacted that, the equal protection clause would  
2 constrain the government's power to deport people on that  
3 basis.

4 The First Amendment does. There's actually cases that  
5 hold that, *Bridges v. Wixon* and *Bridges v. California*.

6 **THE COURT:** And so that's where there are particular  
7 problems, constitutional problems, with the statute or the  
8 ordinance or the Executive Order or whatever it is that's being  
9 challenged.

10 I'm asking as a stand-alone, this due process argument,  
11 which assumes there's no other problems in order to be able to  
12 assert this claim. Now, if it's dependent on an APA problem,  
13 on an equal protection problem, then I can understand that; but  
14 if it's a stand-alone and you're saying even if there's no  
15 constitutional -- other constitutional problem with the  
16 statute, even if it complies with the APA, even if it's  
17 administered consistent with the statute, that any termination  
18 of TPS status would have to give way to the minor's rights to  
19 have their parent with them.

20 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** And let -- that's the point of --  
21 the point I was trying to make, perhaps not articulately  
22 enough, earlier was you could have a duly enacted statute that  
23 had an equal protection problem or you could have one that was  
24 a problem just as applied, like in the First Amendment context,  
25 this particular labor organizer or whatever it is; right?

1       Here, the substantive due process component of the due  
2       process clause is another substantive constraint on the  
3       government's power to write immigration laws even if they are  
4       otherwise duly enacted. They don't come up a lot because the  
5       government doesn't do this kind of thing very much; but if the  
6       government now wants to force a set of children into this  
7       horrific choice, there is a substantive due process body of  
8       doctrine. There's plenty of cases that say the family  
9       integrity right is fundamental, the right to stay in the  
10      country is absolute. There's -- there are cases, we cited  
11      them, where you can't force choices.

12           **THE COURT:** Why wouldn't that apply to every  
13      deportation of a parent?

14           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Right. So it doesn't apply to  
15      every deportation because it only seeks temporary protection.  
16      It doesn't -- we're talking about sending people to countries  
17      that are -- that have been found to be dangerous, and it's  
18      limited to people who are lawfully present for a long period of  
19      time. If you're here for less than five years, this doesn't  
20      even kick in.

21           **THE COURT:** If somebody were here lawfully but lost  
22      that right because, you know, of conduct, for instance, lost  
23      their permanent residency right or lost whatever, you know,  
24      temporary status right, they're here for a period, even if  
25      they're here on a student visa or work visa and then that ends

1 but they had a child during -- if they're here lawfully but at  
2 that point that lawful period ends, the visa may be limited to  
3 five years or something, are you saying if they've had a child,  
4 they can't be removed if they then lose that protection?  
5 They've been here lawfully.

6 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Right. So the lawful -- I mean,  
7 there's two different hypotheticals there. The lawful  
8 permanent resident, the statute the way it's written, you don't  
9 lose your status unless you've done something wrong, you know,  
10 all of that, unless you abandon your status. There's a tiny  
11 loophole, you know, but for the most part, lawful permanent  
12 residents only get deported because they are convicted of  
13 crimes.

14 And that is really telling because if Congress suddenly  
15 said "We're going to strip lawful permanent resident status for  
16 all of these people" -- I think they would have -- "for no---  
17 not because of any wrongdoing because we're worried about the  
18 effect of it on the labor market and we don't care that they  
19 have children in high school who are here," then the children  
20 might have a constitutional challenge to that, and I think  
21 that's actually quite analogous to what we have here.

22 **THE COURT:** Well, that's lawful permanence. What if  
23 somebody's here lawfully on a temporary status like some kind  
24 of visa?

25 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I think the student visa -- and

1 this is why we have very deliberately limited this claim to  
2 school-aged children. That's both a top barrier, it is once  
3 you become an adult, the right no longer -- the interest --  
4 we're not asserting that that interest justifies this -- and  
5 also the young -- young age.

6 If you're younger than 5, we're also asserting that there  
7 you're not part of our class. And the reason for that --  
8 there's two reasons for that. You know, one reason is because  
9 I think it is much harder for a school-age child to move. I  
10 mean, most people wouldn't even move their school-age children  
11 from -- you know, in high school from, I don't know, L.A. to  
12 San Francisco or something, let alone to Haiti or Sudan. So  
13 there's additional trauma on the child.

14 But the other reason for it, Your Honor, is because the  
15 government then has an interest in avoiding, I don't even like  
16 to use these words, but like the anchor baby problem; right?  
17 That's what these cases are talking about. It's, like,  
18 people -- you know, the government's interest, you undermine  
19 the immigration law if people have children.

20 But here, the government can run a temporary program and  
21 it can run student visas and it can have worker visas, all  
22 these things, for periods before the citizen children become of  
23 school-age; and once they become of school-age, it's a more  
24 complicated question.

25 And so, you know, your hypothetical, you know, the narrow

1 one where I think there might be a similar claim, you know, I  
2 don't know, there's a lot of other interests involved but a  
3 person who came here on a student visa and stayed here more  
4 than five or eight years -- eight is the shortest time we have  
5 in this case -- then, perhaps, you know, they would have, you  
6 know, a similar argument. And that's really, like, the only  
7 hypothetical which I think actually could be, you know,  
8 potentially similar to the one that we have here. That hasn't  
9 really arisen in the cases much.

10 **THE COURT:** That suggests that every time -- I mean,  
11 when the government issues some kind of temporary status for  
12 somebody, that the interest in enforcing the deadlines and the  
13 temporary nature of that is not significant, not rational, not  
14 whatever the standard is, enough to override, if they have a  
15 child, the child's due process rights to have their -- to stay  
16 here and have their parents stay with them.

17 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Well, I'd say two things about  
18 that. First, the government has five years. They can extend  
19 TPS once, twice -- these are 18-month extensions -- even three  
20 times. When it goes beyond that, when you're telling people  
21 "You can live here for more than five years," that implicates  
22 different interests for their children. You know, their  
23 children that are growing up, that's a 5-year-old who's growing  
24 up in this country.

25 **THE COURT:** So it almost becomes like an *estoppel*

1 effect on the government? If the government goes beyond five  
2 years, the government risks not being able to control and  
3 terminate TPS status at least for those who have children?

4 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Until they reach the age of  
5 majority, Your Honor.

6 And the alternative, Your Honor, the alternative view, the  
7 government's view, and what you'd have to accept, I think, to  
8 accept the opposite is that there is no family integrity right  
9 here; right? That the immigration law always categorically  
10 trumps the family integrity right no matter what.

11 *Bustamante* --

12 **THE COURT:** Well, in between you say there's a family  
13 integrity right that's acknowledged that may be sufficient to  
14 implicate due process, but the interests in exercising a  
15 validly enacted law that's not tainted in some other  
16 constitutional way survives rational basis for review.

17 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Right. And I guess I don't know  
18 why substantive due process in that sense would be subordinated  
19 in a way and rendered it weaker somehow than equal protection,  
20 the First Amendment, other -- I don't think there's any  
21 doctrinal basis for that kind of, you know, lower treatment.

22 And I also --

23 **THE COURT:** Well, yes, there is, because you are  
24 asserting under the equal protection clause not just rational  
25 basis but strict scrutiny because this is based on racial or

1 ethnic animus.

2 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Right. I --

3 **THE COURT:** That's a different level of review. And  
4 if that is a cognizable claim, if that claim can be heard, you  
5 know, if this Court has jurisdiction over it and you're able to  
6 prove that, that's a whole different animal.

7 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Right.

8 **THE COURT:** If you were just using regular, rational  
9 basis for review, courts have rejected all sorts of  
10 classifications in the immigration context in that sense.

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, yes. My point only,  
12 Your Honor, is that under the government's view, there is  
13 actually no substantive due process right that's enforceable  
14 here at all because it's immigration law.

15 And so in some of these hypotheticals I'd be curious to  
16 hear what they think about those. Could the government just  
17 get rid of all the, say, adoptions on the basis of people who  
18 have gotten green cards through adoptions? They just pass a  
19 law tomorrow that says, "Okay. Those are gone"? Or all the  
20 marriages that are based on green cards, those are gone?

21 Say the government has an interest here. It's duly  
22 enacted. You can have -- in your deportation hearing you can  
23 challenge whether or not you got your green card through  
24 adoption or your green card through marriage so you have all  
25 the process in the world, but there's no substantive problem

1 there?

2 You know, our view is there is a substantive right that's  
3 implicated in these cases. And *Bustamante and Cardenas* and  
4 *Din v. Kerry*, the cases that are about people who are marrying  
5 people abroad, where they're U.S. citizens, they're seeking to  
6 marry noncitizens who are abroad. *Bustamante* is very clear  
7 that this implicates the substantive -- that's the word they  
8 use -- the substantive right to no governmental interference in  
9 matters of marriage and family or, you know, something like  
10 that, citing the cases that we have been talking about.

11 So the Ninth Circuit has recognized that there is  
12 obviously some substantive right here that has to be balanced,  
13 and so then the question is whether these very particular  
14 factors, whether people have lived here lawfully, where they're  
15 going -- the children are going to be sent to countries that  
16 are unsafe, where it's a temporary protection, whether those  
17 are enough to alter the balancing calculus here compared to,  
18 you know, these many other situations where the interests are  
19 different.

20 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me hear from the  
21 government.

22 The government does argue in its brief that there's not  
23 even a cognizable interest that, if it were to be recognized,  
24 is overridden fairly easily. I think the government is arguing  
25 there's no due process right at all to be recognized. Is that



1 the position?

2 **MR. MARTIN:** Yes. I mean, that is the first point,  
3 Your Honor, that there is no right.

4 But even if we were in a world where there were some  
5 process of the type of *Bustamante* or *Cardenas*, it's important  
6 that the standard there was that the government only had to  
7 give a facially legitimate *bone fide* reason, and that was the  
8 end of the matter.

9 So this -- you know, the idea those cases would somehow  
10 support the types of scrutiny of the Secretaries of Homeland  
11 Security's decisions here I think would be unwarranted.

12 **THE COURT:** Well, maybe it's an academic -- I mean, in  
13 view of that position, it may be academic whether you recognize  
14 any due process right to start with. Do you have any response  
15 to the hypothetical about green cards being revoked when  
16 they're based on marriage or adoption, whether any  
17 constitutional right would vest in that situation?

18 **MR. MARTIN:** The government's position is that no  
19 constitutional right would vest in that position, Your Honor.

20 **THE COURT:** But even if it did, you would have --  
21 well, if it did, then you'd have to look at whether there's, I  
22 guess as you put it, a facially legitimate valid reason?

23 **MR. MARTIN:** *Bone fide* reason.

24 **THE COURT:** *Bone fide* reason?

25 **MR. MARTIN:** Yeah.

1           **THE COURT:** What about the argument that this is not  
2 asking for full permanent status but really temporary-temporary  
3 status really, a status that would be extended tied to the age  
4 of the child; and, therefore, it's not as sort of broad or  
5 intrusive as affording, for instance, permanent residence to  
6 somebody by marriage or something like that?

7           **MR. MARTIN:** Well, I think two things, Your Honor.  
8 First, that's inviting this Court to, you know, create  
9 basically a new immigration status out of whole cloth, which  
10 goes to the second point, which is that these types of fixes  
11 are appropriate for Congress; that the concerns that were noted  
12 by plaintiffs' counsel are, you know, legitimate concerns but  
13 we have a branch of government that is entrusted with remedying  
14 that situation, that this is a legislative fix. It's not  
15 appropriate for judicial construction of a new type of  
16 immigration statute.

17           **THE COURT:** All right. Let's move on to the equal  
18 protection question, which I'd like to hear from plaintiffs'  
19 counsel to make sure I understand the scope of that claim.

20           Are you challenging the actual termination -- the  
21 determination to terminate the status, TPS status, of these  
22 four countries both as sort of directly as well as challenging  
23 the change in rule as violative or just the change in rule  
24 being motivated by improper purposes?

25           **MS. BANSAL:** We're challenging both, Your Honor. The

1 change in rule is one of the elements under *Arlington Heights*.  
2 You look to procedural departure and so the change in rule  
3 supports the claim of intentional discrimination, but we are  
4 not only challenging the change in rule.

5 **THE COURT:** But also the substantive determination to  
6 terminate?

7 **MS. BANSAL:** And not because the conditions in the  
8 country are not such as the Secretary found them but because  
9 the decision was motivated by intentional race-based  
10 discrimination.

11 **THE COURT:** Well, the Supreme Court may shed some  
12 light --

13 **MS. BANSAL:** We were checking our e-mail this morning,  
14 Your Honor.

15 **THE COURT:** I take it no decision has come down.

16 So in some ways it's hard to adjudicate this since a large  
17 part of, perhaps not all of your claim, your theory of equal  
18 protection is based on comments made by the President. And I  
19 don't know how much useful it will be to explore the issue  
20 since I think the Supreme Court may be looking at that, but it  
21 does raise the question of if you -- number one, can you  
22 consider those comments made? Are we limited to time frame?  
23 Does that extend to comments that were made not proximate in  
24 time but a distance away? Can you consider the President's  
25 comments made while he was a candidate and not a President?

1 And what's the end? Is there a point where any action taken in  
2 this arena by the President can be deemed not tainted? Is  
3 there some purge period?

4 I assume the court is going to -- may make some comment on  
5 that but in case it doesn't, I would like to hear your response  
6 to the limits problem.

7 **MS. BANSAL:** Under current law, obviously, Your Honor,  
8 that's the only way we can answer the question, but the court  
9 can consider that range of statements. That the government has  
10 an argument here that the statements are not relevant because  
11 the ultimate decision-maker was the Secretary, that argument  
12 clearly fails under the catspaw theory of discrimination, which  
13 is what the court in the Eastern District of New York had in  
14 the *Batalla Vidal* case.

15 **THE COURT:** Yes. I'm not so concerned with who's  
16 making the statement. I'm more concerned with how far back can  
17 you go, how much of a causal relationship needs to be  
18 demonstrated as a foundation to consider these, and what's the  
19 limit.

20 **MS. BANSAL:** I understand, Your Honor.

21 As to the limit, under the *Arlington Heights* test, it's a  
22 very sensitive inquiry, I think is the word the court uses.  
23 You look at the totality of the circumstances. There is no one  
24 factor that is controlling.

25 We would assume in good faith, Your Honor, that if this

1 Court were to find that the TPS terminations at issue here were  
2 infected by discriminatory animus, that the government would go  
3 back and make a good faith effort to redetermine the TPS  
4 designations in a constitutional manner. And there is nothing  
5 under existing law that would prevent them from doing that even  
6 after a finding by this Court about intentional discrimination.

7 You could look to, for example, the zoning context. There  
8 have been, of course, many cases finding that a city made a  
9 discriminatory decision to deny a zoning application, and I'm  
10 not aware of anyone ever suggesting that the city could no  
11 longer deny any zoning applications in the future because that  
12 one instance was infected by discrimination. Each decision has  
13 to be looked at on its own terms.

14 **THE COURT:** So if the subsequent decision is examined  
15 under the criteria of *Arlington Heights*, notwithstanding an  
16 earlier statement made by a decision-maker, it could -- still  
17 it could withstand equal protection scrutiny?

18 **MS. BANSAL:** That's correct, Your Honor.

19 **THE COURT:** So would the proximity -- what role does  
20 proximity in time have to this analysis?

21 **MS. BANSAL:** I think proximity is relevant. Under  
22 *Arlington Heights*, the Ninth Circuit has been clear that this  
23 is -- it's really a question for a trier of fact and any  
24 indication of discriminatory intent lead to an issue that can  
25 only be resolved by the trier of fact so proximity goes to

1 that.

2 Our allegations have a tight proximal connection in that  
3 there was a meeting about TPS predated by a week some of these  
4 TPS terminations at which the President made statements  
5 directly about the TPS holders.

6 **THE COURT:** And, as I recall, it was in reference in  
7 more particularly to Haiti, TPS holders from Haiti and  
8 El Salvador?

9 **MS. BANSAL:** Those were the terminations that  
10 immediately followed the meeting, Your Honor, but the  
11 President's statement -- and I don't want to say it to the  
12 Court, but I do think his words were important -- he said, "Why  
13 are we having all these people from shithole countries come  
14 here?" And a reasonable trier of fact could infer he was  
15 speaking about TPS holders in general. That statement was not  
16 tied directly to Haiti. He made other comments about Haiti.

17 **THE COURT:** I'm trying to remember now. Before he  
18 made that comment --

19 **MS. BANSAL:** Yes.

20 **THE COURT:** -- was the discussion specifically about  
21 Haiti and El Salvador?

22 **MS. BANSAL:** The discussion was, as we've alleged,  
23 Your Honor, as I understood it, about TPS in general. The  
24 countries that were coming up immediately were Haiti and  
25 El Salvador.

1           **THE COURT:** So you would contend that his reference  
2 was to all TPS holders?

3           **MS. BANSAL:** Yes, Your Honor. And we think that's  
4 also supported by the allegations about the pressure that the  
5 White House put on the Department of Homeland Security. Even  
6 in advance of that meeting in November, we've alleged that the  
7 Chief of Staff at the White House called Acting Secretary Duke,  
8 put tremendous pressure on her to end Honduras, TPS for  
9 Honduras, in the context of saying "The TPS program in general  
10 is contrary to the Trump Administration's goals on  
11 immigration."

12           **THE COURT:** Well, I'm not sure that supports your  
13 claim of racial or ethnic or color animus because if it's to  
14 end TPS generally as an immigration matter, which raises a  
15 question, you know, if there's a general attitude about  
16 immigration, you might even call that anti-immigrant sort of  
17 sentiment, that's not necessarily racial animus. That could  
18 be -- so I'm not sure.

19           I was puzzled by that reference and I'm not sure how that  
20 supports your claim. A general pressure to end and tighten up  
21 the TPS program is not necessarily one that's expressly race  
22 based.

23           **MS. BANSAL:** Let me clarify, Your Honor. And I think  
24 you take that pressure is relevant to, one, the President's  
25 involvement in the entire process and whether you could hold

1 the Secretary responsible for the President's animus infecting  
2 the process; but it is also relevant because we've alleged that  
3 the President's position on the TPS program is due to his  
4 animus towards immigrants from nonwhite, non-European  
5 countries.

6 So the TPS holders are from specific countries which the  
7 President contrasted to countries like Norway, which are mostly  
8 white. So it's not -- our allegation is not that the  
9 Administration was opposed to TPS because they're opposed to  
10 the program but that TPS was contrary to their overall goals,  
11 which were motivated by intentional discrimination towards  
12 nonwhite, non-European immigrants.

13 **THE COURT:** All right.

14 **MS. BANSAL:** May I --

15 **THE COURT:** Yeah. Go ahead.

16 **MS. BANSAL:** If I could address for a minute,  
17 Your Honor, the standard of review.

18 **THE COURT:** Yes.

19 **MS. BANSAL:** And the government's primary argument  
20 here is that rational basis review applies and because the  
21 Federal Register itself doesn't make any race-based claims,  
22 they should pass rational basis review. Obviously *Arlington*  
23 *Heights* -- it's our position that *Arlington Heights* applies.

24 But the government cannot satisfy any standard of review  
25 here. They've pointed to no case and we're aware of no case



1 that has applied rational basis review to a claim of  
2 intentional race-based discrimination. But even under rational  
3 basis review, a law that's motivated by animus would fail to  
4 pass constitutional muster. That's clear from *Cleburne* and  
5 *Moreno*.

6 And as I understand it, the government's response to that  
7 is, well, to allege animus in immigration context you need to  
8 show outrageous discrimination, and they cite the *AADC* case.  
9 That is a case, Your Honor, that is about selective enforcement  
10 claims. It's fundamentally different than this claim.

11 *AADC* was a situation where you had people who are in  
12 violation of the law who are challenging their prosecution for  
13 violation of the law on the basis of the prosecutor's motive.  
14 The result of that -- the court was concerned that the result  
15 of success on that kind of challenge would be to delay  
16 prosecution of a violation of law or, in the immigration  
17 context, to permit an ongoing violation of law.

18 Our plaintiffs are not in violation of law. This is not  
19 an issue where the government is choosing from among a set of  
20 people who are in violation of law who to prosecute and we're  
21 challenging their motive in doing that.

22 And I think the Ninth Circuit in the *Kwai Fun Wong* case  
23 was quite clear that *AADC* is limited to that kind of selective  
24 enforcement context and that it does not apply when you are  
25 challenging denial of an immigration benefit on the basis of

1 discriminatory animus.

2 **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me hear from the  
3 government on that.

4 Your assertion that the proper standard of review here is  
5 the AADC standard, why is this -- where is there an assertion  
6 of prosecutorial or impingement upon prosecutorial discretion?  
7 This is not a prosecution here. This really has to do with the  
8 implementation of a statute.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, Your Honor, it's important to note  
10 that the AADC framework has been applied, particularly in the  
11 NSEERS cases, to immigration laws that were distinguished on  
12 the basis of countries. You know, the NSEERS was the selective  
13 registration system, and at least the First and the Seventh  
14 Circuits applied AADC and that rational basis framework to the  
15 requirement that individuals from certain countries have to  
16 register.

17 **THE COURT:** Well, but didn't that -- wasn't that in  
18 the context -- remind me. Was that in the context of either a  
19 prosecution or removal proceeding?

20 **MR. MARTIN:** Yes, Your Honor. Yeah.

21 **THE COURT:** So that makes some difference, does it  
22 not? I mean, one could analogize removal -- once you get into  
23 removal proceedings, it's perhaps similar to a prosecution and  
24 to say that people are selectively being, you know, chosen for  
25 removal in a way that is based on some allegedly impermissible

1 criteria and, therefore, seeking court intervention trying to  
2 stop that, it's similar. Maybe it's not a criminal law  
3 enforcement but it is a law enforcement action that's analogous  
4 to kind of a prosecution for purposes of the  
5 selective-prosecution doctrine. So I can kind of see that, but  
6 here we're not at that stage it seems to me.

7 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, the predicates that would put us in  
8 that stage are like the NSEERS cases. You had specific  
9 requirements from individuals from specific countries that, you  
10 know, were distinguishing based upon national origin in NSEERS;  
11 and here you have country-specific determinations that are not  
12 about the characteristics of individuals from these countries  
13 but are about the conditions in those countries on the ground.  
14 And in both cases, the framework is going to be an AADC  
15 framework because of the immigration context.

16 **THE COURT:** Well, but that suggests that any kind of  
17 decision, even if it's one based on invidious factors, if it is  
18 a predicate to later removal or later some kind of  
19 individualized process where there's some sanctioning would be  
20 kind of forced under a framework of AADC would be a pretty  
21 sweeping proposition. That would mean normal constitutional  
22 review would be constrained even if you're not actually in a  
23 prosecution.

24 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, it might be sweeping, Your Honor,  
25 but in the context of immigration where you're challenging, you

1 know, the executive's ability to weigh a myriad of factors --  
2 foreign policy factors, humanitarian considerations, domestic  
3 political considerations -- that the deference to that -- to,  
4 you know, that decision-making process is what AADC and the  
5 NSEERS cases, even outside the prosecutorial discretion  
6 context, are counseling.

7 **THE COURT:** Well, that's two different doctrines. One  
8 is concern about the separation of powers and the court not  
9 intervening too forcefully in the prosecutorial discretion  
10 area, which is one thing. The mantle of immigration law and  
11 the deference to Congress' plenary part, that's a different  
12 matter. I mean, that's another basis for deference and a court  
13 treading very lightly but it's not based on the prosecutorial  
14 discretion. So I'm just -- and I think AADC is really about  
15 prosecutorial discretion, selective prosecution.

16 **MR. MARTIN:** Just one thing on that, Your Honor. The  
17 reasoning for the deference applies with equal force here  
18 because whether it's prosecutorial discretion or the weighing  
19 of the country conditions, both are inherently executive  
20 functions. So for that reason AADC would not be limited to  
21 just the prosecutorial discretion context but it would apply  
22 also to a context here where you have, you know, an inherently  
23 discretionary assessment in consultation with other government  
24 agencies about what realities on the ground in a country like  
25 Sudan or Nicaragua or El Salvador or Haiti are; that the

1 rationale for deferring to prosecutorial discretion applies  
2 with equal force to -- would apply to equal force to deferring  
3 to the discretion in assessing the factors that are relevant to  
4 TPS here.

5           **THE COURT:** Well, that may be a reason why the statute  
6 and Congress enacted a statute to generally bar review of  
7 substantive decisions, and I think that's acceded to by the  
8 plaintiff. If there was a decision based on analysis of the  
9 facts, on the merits, courts are not going to second-guess, you  
10 know, sort of the Secretary's assessment of on-the-ground  
11 conditions.

12           But if the decision proves to be motivated by racial  
13 animus and not, you know, by an actual assessment of things on  
14 the ground, I'm not sure there's a reason for deference there  
15 because then the whole reason to defer to the expertise of the  
16 agency and the weighing of various considerations, if that's  
17 not what's really at play, then there's no basis for that kind  
18 of deference.

19           So, I mean, I think the two sort of dovetail that. Unless  
20 you get out of that box and you can prove this was motivated by  
21 a reason that's not based on the merits, there would be very,  
22 very limited judicial review; but if you can prove that, then  
23 it seems to me that normal scrutiny, strict scrutiny would  
24 apply to any governmental decision, as would apply to any  
25 governmental decision.

1       What's your view about -- I guess, again, we may find out  
2 more within days how we are supposed to assess comments and  
3 evidence -- but the fact here that there's proximity between  
4 the alleged -- the comments that are cited by the plaintiff,  
5 the President's comments about "shithole countries" and  
6 comparing TPS countries to, like, Norway as an example, that it  
7 was within a short time, I think one week before I think the  
8 first decision was made with respect to Haiti, or was it Haiti?

9       **MR. MARTIN:** I think I might be confused on the time  
10 frame. I think those comments were made after Sudan and  
11 Nicaragua.

12       **THE COURT:** After?

13       **MR. MARTIN:** After.

14       **THE COURT:** But before -- it was within a week? I  
15 recall that there was a --

16       **MR. MARTIN:** I'm fuzzy on the exact time frame.

17       **THE COURT:** Within a short time.

18       **MR. MARTIN:** Within a short time, yeah.

19       **THE COURT:** So, I mean, whatever the -- wouldn't that  
20 normally be deemed fairly probative if this were just any other  
21 case, comments made by the decision-maker that shed some light  
22 on that decision-maker's attitude in connection with the  
23 transaction close in time? It seems like that would be given  
24 weight in a normal case.

25       **MR. MARTIN:** Well, if this were a normal sort of

1 employment discrimination case, yes, Your Honor; but this is  
2 not an employment discrimination context or that other set of  
3 context.

4 **THE COURT:** But the same logic would apply. I mean,  
5 the reason why it's given weight in an employment context or in  
6 a zoning context or any other decision-making context is that  
7 just logically, you know, the closer in time it is, the more  
8 likely it may shed light on what the decision-maker was  
9 thinking at the time.

10 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, Your Honor, again, this is -- you  
11 know, plaintiffs have expressed their view on this argument but  
12 we have a Congressionally designated decision-maker who's a  
13 Cabinet Secretary who makes these decisions, and that is a  
14 reason why this isn't a normal context. And for that reason,  
15 the President's comments -- our position is they're irrelevant  
16 to the decision-making process here. And, in fact, some of  
17 plaintiffs' allegations are actually self-refuting on this.  
18 They make a lot of Secretary Kelly's alleged pressure on acting  
19 Secretary Duke regarding Honduras. She did not terminate  
20 Honduras. Similarly, with Sudan, she extended South Sudan, and  
21 Secretary Nielsen has extended Syria.

22 So when you look at the particular allegations of, you  
23 know, discriminatory pressure here, they fall apart under that  
24 scrutiny.

25 **THE COURT:** Well, that's a factual question, and I

1 know you've raised that. It sort of shows that there was not  
2 perfect control. Even assuming that the President's agenda was  
3 to end TPS status for any non-white country, that didn't happen  
4 in at least three instances; but the fact that it happened in  
5 the other four instances may be evidence to the contrary, but  
6 that's an evidentiary question.

7 I think their theory is that even though the charged  
8 decision-maker by statute was the Secretary, if the Secretary  
9 was, in fact, acting under the pressure/influence of the  
10 President, then as any -- under typical discrimination theory,  
11 those who exerted some influence or pressure, their state of  
12 mind can be imputed for liability purposes to the ultimate  
13 decision-maker.

14 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, you know, as you're aware there's  
15 other pending litigation on this. You know, the *Casa v.*  
16 *Maryland* case rejected this argument. *Batalla Vidal* has been  
17 certified for interlocutory appeal, and there are other courts  
18 considering this issue. But in all of these cases, it is our  
19 position that when you're dealing with a Cabinet Secretary who  
20 has authority to make these decisions as delegated by Congress,  
21 that this sort of undue pressure, catspaw theory falls apart.

22 **THE COURT:** Simply because that's the person that was  
23 designated to exercise the ultimate power?

24 **MR. MARTIN:** Yes. That distinguishes it from a case  
25 of a middle manager in the employment context or, you know,



1 these other sort of contexts.

2 **THE COURT:** I'm not sure. I mean, ultimately somebody  
3 is a decision-maker. In this case it's designated by statute.  
4 In many cases you have to figure out who the decision-maker  
5 was. Was it the supervisor or the manager or the CEO? But  
6 once you've determined who that -- located who that  
7 decision-maker is, you also look at those who influenced the  
8 decision-maker in determining whether or not there was unlawful  
9 discrimination or other invidious type of conduct that was  
10 going on.

11 And so I'm not sure the fact that Congress has identified  
12 who the ultimate responsible decision-maker is would insulate  
13 and prevent review of who the other influencing factors were  
14 and whether or not they were tainted by some unlawful  
15 motivation. I'm not aware of, you know, why that would be.

16 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, fair enough, Your Honor. You know,  
17 this is our position, and we also have a Ninth Circuit decision  
18 in DACA that will shed some light on this perhaps.

19 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me go to the APA theory  
20 then. And let me ask you. I understand, you know, there's a  
21 whole question of jurisdiction, whether we even get to this on  
22 the merits, but if we were to, and I understand the  
23 government's denial that there was a change in rule, there is  
24 no, quote, new rule, new interpretation --

25 **MR. MARTIN:** Right.

1           **THE COURT:** -- but if there is jurisdiction, if a new  
2 rule or new interpretation is found to have been applied here  
3 that is different and discretely different from the prior  
4 process, why wouldn't then that be problematic under the  
5 Administrative Procedure Act, particularly under the *FCC versus*  
6 *Fox Television* case that said that the agency has -- you can't  
7 depart from prior policy or practice *sub silentio*, you have to  
8 at least give good reasons for it, some explanation, go through  
9 a process.

10           **MR. MARTIN:** Well, the explanations are given, as  
11 required by statute, in the Federal Register notices. They are  
12 set out there. There is no other source of publication for  
13 guidelines or interpretation.

14           **THE COURT:** Well, that's an explanation of the  
15 substantive decision, why status is being terminated for Haiti  
16 and for El Salvador.

17           **MR. MARTIN:** Right.

18           **THE COURT:** What is not explained, and I know this is  
19 hard for you to do because your client denies that there was a  
20 change, but if there was a change, there is no explanation why  
21 that change was made, why the Secretary is no longer  
22 considering, for instance, current conditions.

23           **MR. MARTIN:** Not to avoid the question, but on that  
24 point, Your Honor, we are not conceding that the Secretaries  
25 did not consider intervening conditions.

1           **THE COURT:** No, I know that. I know that's a dispute  
2 because in some of the termination notices it talks about some  
3 current language like in Sudan, for instance.

4           **MR. MARTIN:** Right. Right. So just to be clear,  
5 we're not conceding that we did not do that.

6           **THE COURT:** Right. On the other hand, if you look  
7 just on the face of the notices compared to the extension  
8 notices, the previous extension notice and the current  
9 termination notice, there are a number of factors that were  
10 just not addressed. If you look at El Salvador and some of  
11 these other countries, a termination -- the extension notice  
12 noted certain things and problems, but they were not -- it's  
13 just silent in that regard. So sometimes they're addressed,  
14 sometimes they're not.

15           **MR. MARTIN:** And that would be true for every TPS  
16 termination since, you know, the H.W. Bush Administration. I  
17 think if you look at them all, you will see that, you know,  
18 some are voluminous in their discussion, some are pretty  
19 somewhat short.

20           **THE COURT:** The prior terminations also omitted  
21 discussion of the previous condition that had been cited in the  
22 preceding notice?

23           **MR. MARTIN:** Right. If you're reading the prior  
24 Federal Register notices, you can't discern any pattern of  
25 consistency where every single factor that was ever mentioned

1 in the prior extension is rebutted in the termination. That's  
2 just not the way things have been handled.

3 **THE COURT:** Well, that does raise a disputed issue.  
4 But assuming for the moment that if the plaintiff were able  
5 to -- they were able to prevail and show that there was a  
6 significant, substantive or, they put it, sudden change, would  
7 that not -- wouldn't that be problematic under the APA since  
8 there's no explanation for that, no reasons set forth?

9 **MR. MARTIN:** No, Your Honor. Again, not getting to,  
10 like, the merits of whether this actually happened, none of the  
11 cases that plaintiffs cite for the APA claim are like the  
12 situation here. They all involve some sort of prior public  
13 notice given to the public about how the agency was going to  
14 administer or prosecute a particular statute.

15 There are -- none of the reliance interests that those  
16 types of public statements would have engendered are at issue  
17 here. And this is a temporary humanitarian program applied by  
18 different Administrations over, you know, since I guess 1991.  
19 And to try to stitch together a policy based upon inferences in  
20 the Federal Register notices and apply one that exists, and  
21 then they would be binding on future Administrations unless  
22 there was a public statement that they were changing course  
23 would be outside the framework of the APA.

24 **THE COURT:** Are you suggesting there has to be a sort  
25 of proven reliance interest in order to implicate the APA's

1 requirement of some reasoned explanation for a change?

2 **MR. MARTIN:** Not that there's a reliance requirement,  
3 but that in all of the cases that plaintiffs cite, you're  
4 dealing with formalized public communications, either a  
5 proposed rule making or as in *FCC v. Fox* you had interpretive  
6 guidelines that the FCC was publishing about its fleeting  
7 expletive policy. I mentioned reliance in that context because  
8 it is there where in that context the Supreme Court in *Fox v.*  
9 *FCC* says, you know, the agency has to give some reason to  
10 explain what it's doing and notify that it's doing so.

11 Without any prior express policy, there is -- there would  
12 be no requirement to publish on the website or anywhere else  
13 how they were administering TPS.

14 **THE COURT:** Well, I know you had argued that *Fox*, for  
15 instance, the *FCC/Fox* case is different because it concerned  
16 formal policies and regulations; but the APA principle about  
17 having to at least discuss and explain changes have been  
18 applied to practices not just formal policies. In the *American*  
19 *Wild Horse* case versus *Perdue*, I think that was a practice  
20 regarding how certain lands were treated. I don't think there  
21 was a formal regulation as I recall.

22 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, it's not so much there was a formal  
23 regulation, but it was a public policy that had been in place  
24 for two decades, I believe, or maybe more than two decades.

25 **THE COURT:** And -- well, I take it what we're going to

1 hear from the plaintiffs is that there's been a public policy  
2 or practice of accounting for intervening current circumstances  
3 before terminating, and that is the change. I mean, it was  
4 public in the sense that if you look at all the explanations  
5 and the extensions, what the practice was is made evident and  
6 was public. So why is that any different?

7 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, maybe this just collapses to the  
8 merits, that that's just not the case.

9 **THE COURT:** Right.

10 **MR. MARTIN:** And, Your Honor, also, I know that we  
11 started this hypothetical with the proviso that there was  
12 jurisdiction, but I just want to reiterate that the APA itself  
13 would, you know, deprive plaintiffs -- this Court of  
14 jurisdiction over that claim because of Section 1254a.

15 **THE COURT:** Right. The jurisdiction-stripping  
16 provision.

17 **MR. MARTIN:** Yeah, right.

18 **THE COURT:** Right, which is where I started because  
19 that's a threshold question. And if the government prevails on  
20 that, then none of this is cognizable or --

21 **MR. MARTIN:** Right. I just wanted to reiterate that  
22 point.

23 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me hear the response  
24 regarding the APA.

25 **MS. BANSAL:** Thank you, Your Honor.

1 I'll start with this question of whether a rule has to be  
2 explicitly and formally written down for this general principle  
3 that an agency must explain past departures to apply. As  
4 Your Honor said, many of the cases that we've cited do not  
5 involve that situation, so in *American Wild Horses* it was a  
6 practice over years. And also the --

7 **THE COURT:** Was that practice embodied in any -- or  
8 described in any public -- in other words, here there's kind of  
9 an implicit -- you are asserting an implicit practice, an  
10 implicit policy. In *Wild Horse* was that implicit or explicit,  
11 the practice of how certain lands were treated?

12 **MS. BANSAL:** I think the case most on point with  
13 implicit practice is the *FERC* case, the *California Public*  
14 *Utilities versus FERC*. In *Wild Horses* the situation was that  
15 the agency was taking a very similar position to the  
16 government. Here they were denying that there had been any  
17 rule that was ever changed; and in rejecting that argument, the  
18 court looked in part to practice. So the agency had to count  
19 the number of horses that were in this disputed territory, and  
20 they said, "In your reports where you count the number of  
21 horses, you counted the horses from this middle territory, so  
22 clearly you thought the middle territory was part of the  
23 reserve."

24 There was also an original forest plan that was  
25 incorporated by reference into another document that said that

1 the reserve was part of the -- oh, sorry, that the disputed  
2 territory was part of the reserve, so the court looked at both  
3 things.

4 The *FERC* case is a case where the rule really was embodied  
5 in individual decisions, just as in our case. So the -- over  
6 the course of deciding several cases, the issue had to do with  
7 whether you could give an incentive to a utility company for  
8 being part of a group that it had no discretion to leave. So  
9 there were incentives given to electricity companies when they  
10 made a voluntary choice to join certain groups, and the  
11 question was: Could you give the incentive to a utility  
12 company that had no choice but to be part of this group?

13 And in the past the agency had always denied. In  
14 individual cases, the utility company would ask for the benefit  
15 and they would say, "No, because your participation in this  
16 group is not voluntary so you don't get an incentive to induce  
17 your behavior." They changed that not in a formal  
18 announcement, but in a decision granting an incentive to a  
19 utility company that was part of this group and had no  
20 discretion to leave. And so the policy, and the court actually  
21 says this in the decision, but the policy that was departed  
22 from was embodied in prior decisions.

23 It's also the case in the *Bonneville Power Administration*  
24 case, Your Honor, where the practice that was departed from was  
25 that the agency would always fund a fish passage center



1 whenever this other body had recommended they do so. It was  
2 just in a practice. They didn't have any rule always from them  
3 when the other body says. It was just a practice, so...

4 **THE COURT:** All right. So that brings up the question  
5 how clear, and maybe this is a factual dispute here, your  
6 theory, your APA theory, and perhaps your -- in part you're  
7 seeking to avoid the jurisdictional stripping provision hinges  
8 on the existence of a new policy or practice.

9 What's your response factually to the fact that if you  
10 look at earlier terminations, they -- many of them also did not  
11 refer to prior extension conditions? And one could argue it  
12 looks like, you know, there's no clear pattern here, that you  
13 don't always consider all conditions.

14 **MS. BANSAL:** Well, Your Honor, when -- the first thing  
15 I want to clarify is that this practice of considering  
16 intervening conditions and describing the intervening  
17 conditions and the extensions and terminations is one that  
18 developed over time, so the initial termination and extension  
19 notices are quite cursory. There's a giant folder there with  
20 all of them. The initial notices in the 1990 cert are quite  
21 cursory. It's around 2000 where you start to see more detailed  
22 explanations in both the extensions and the terminations.

23 Obviously you can't have one rule for terminations and one  
24 rule for extensions, so you can't only look at one.

25 As Your Honor has noted, this is a factual question, so to

1 the extent there's any ambiguity about what was considered at  
2 this stage, it has to be construed in the light most favorable  
3 to the plaintiffs. But we -- there is a clear difference  
4 between the factors, the intervening factors, that are  
5 considered before the Trump Administration and after about 2000  
6 because before that the notices just say very little.

7 But there's a clear difference between the reasons that  
8 are given in that 17-year time period and the reasons that are  
9 given under the Trump Administration.

10 We've also --

11 **THE COURT:** Well, is it accurate that there were prior  
12 terminations that didn't address all of the immediately  
13 preceding extension justifications?

14 **MS. BANSAL:** The government has cherrypicked a few  
15 examples that they have discussed in their brief that they  
16 argue show a failure to consider intervening conditions in  
17 terminations. At best we think -- we think those are  
18 cherrypicked examples and that the overwhelming pattern is to  
19 consider intervening conditions in both extension and  
20 termination notices.

21 To the extent there is no pattern, and the government  
22 sometimes considers them and sometimes doesn't, that would also  
23 be a violation of the APA to apply one rule in one case and  
24 another rule in another case arbitrarily.

25 **THE COURT:** I don't recall that being a theory you

1 advanced. I thought your theory is that there's a change, not  
2 that there's been inconsistencies from time to time, therefore  
3 prior Administrations may have violated the APA as well. I  
4 thought your position is that this Administration has violated  
5 the APA because of a sudden and new change. That's a different  
6 theory.

7 **MS. BANSAL:** You're correct, Your Honor, and I  
8 apologize if I was confusing. That is our position.

9 In response to the government's argument in our opposition  
10 brief, we point out that if the Court accepted their version of  
11 the facts as true, and sometimes factors are considered and  
12 sometimes they aren't, that is a different APA violation.  
13 That's not the one that we have alleged here, but that also  
14 would violate the APA.

15 **THE COURT:** Are there any cases that say how much of a  
16 change, how clean, how categorical a change must be in order to  
17 invoke the requirement of providing good reasons, et cetera,  
18 et cetera, for that? If there's a subtle shift from, you know,  
19 60 percent explanation to 40 percent explanation instead of  
20 zero to 100 or 100 to zero, are there any cases that say at  
21 what point, how significant, how substantial, how sweeping, how  
22 complete must a change be before the APA is implicated?

23 **MS. BANSAL:** There aren't any cases I'm aware of,  
24 Your Honor, that directly address the question, but you can  
25 look at the changes that have -- where the court has applied

1 this test. So in the *Fox* case, for example, the change was is  
2 one expletive enough to count as indecency or could two count  
3 as indecency. And the Court explicitly notices -- have noted  
4 that the agency didn't change the definition of "indecency."  
5 It just changed how it was applied.

6 There's also, in the *Bonneville Power Administration* case,  
7 Your Honor --

8 **THE COURT:** But there you could see what the change  
9 was in a fairly graphic way; right? I mean, here you're  
10 looking at a pattern. I mean, as you say, I mean, they  
11 cherrypicked, but if they can cherrypick enough, then it begins  
12 to look like not so discrete a pattern, if there's enough  
13 examples of that.

14 **MS. BANSAL:** So the question is not how -- I  
15 apologize, Your Honor. I think I was misunderstanding the  
16 question -- not how subtle the change has to be, but how  
17 clearly the change has to be expressed.

18 **THE COURT:** I guess that's a better way of putting it,  
19 yes.

20 **MS. BANSAL:** We have -- we think that the change is  
21 clear, Your Honor, from the notices, but we have also alleged  
22 numerous statements that reflect a change. And so it's not  
23 just the notices, but it's, you know, for example,  
24 Secretary Nielsen saying the law does not allow me to look at  
25 the conditions of a country writ large. Compare that statement

1 with pre-Trump extension and termination notices. There is a  
2 clear change.

3 **THE COURT:** All right. To the extent that raises a  
4 factual issue, why isn't this -- explain to me again why is  
5 this not -- going back to the first question -- a fact-based  
6 challenge to jurisdiction as opposed to facial challenge? And  
7 if it's a fact-based challenge, doesn't this Court have the --  
8 isn't it charged with having to resolve that fact?

9 **MS. BANSAL:** Because the government's position,  
10 Your Honor, is that there is no jurisdiction over our claims  
11 regardless of whether we can prove a new rule or not, their  
12 position is that the Court doesn't have jurisdiction to  
13 consider whether there has been a rule change.

14 **THE COURT:** So it's the nature of their challenge that  
15 it's saying even if true, there's still no jurisdiction?

16 **MS. BANSAL:** That is how I understand it, Your Honor.  
17 We briefed this in our brief from yesterday, and my co-counsel  
18 may be able to elaborate about that.

19 **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me clarify it from  
20 the government. I know that is your argument. You've made  
21 that argument, but -- and is that the gist of your  
22 jurisdictional challenge, that even if they could prove it,  
23 this statute is so broad and sweeping and unconditional, that  
24 it bars judicial review?

25 **MR. MARTIN:** That is our position, Your Honor, yes.

1 And there was one thing I might add to the APA discussion.

2 **THE COURT:** Yeah.

3 **MR. MARTIN:** This theory of bringing this within the  
4 rubric of the APA threatens to imperil the TPS framework itself  
5 because it would not just be terminations that would then be  
6 subject to litigation, it would be the designations in the  
7 first instance or refusal to designate. You could imagine a  
8 situation where a future Secretary designated a country for TPS  
9 and someone who was opposed to that for whatever reason brought  
10 an APA lawsuit saying that, you know, the factors weren't  
11 considered in the way that they were by prior Administrations,  
12 that there was a departure from practice. Each of the legal  
13 theories advanced here would imperil the TPS framework itself  
14 by allowing that sort of challenge. And so I think that that  
15 is -- that's another reason why Congress added or barred  
16 judicial review here, but I think that that is a consequence  
17 of, you know, the way that this case has been litigated if it  
18 were allowed to go forward.

19 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me get a response to that.  
20 Wouldn't your theory have implications for not just  
21 terminations but extensions or designations in the first place  
22 if any change in -- alleged change in criteria could implicate  
23 scrutiny?

24 **MS. BANSAL:** It's hard to think of who would have  
25 standing or how the challenge to the extension would come up,

1 but the jurisdictional argument that we present, Your Honor,  
2 certainly is not limited to terminations. It applies to --

3 **THE COURT:** I'm talking about the APA argument, the  
4 substantive APA argument.

5 **MS. BANSAL:** Prior. Prior. Yes, the rule change, the  
6 rule change argument that you can't change rules without giving  
7 an explanation is not limited to a termination. Although in  
8 the termination, there are unique reliance interests, which are  
9 relevant as far as how detailed the explanation needs to be.  
10 And I think the government argued that there were no reliance  
11 interests because this policy is not written down, but  
12 certainly the TPS holders have come over the years to rely on  
13 the fact that their country's TPS designations are extended.  
14 They are aware of the conditions in their country, and they  
15 have come to rely on the fact that they are not going to be  
16 made to return to their countries until those conditions have  
17 improved. And they have come to rely on the fact that that  
18 assessment is made looking at the conditions written and not in  
19 this narrow way.

20 **THE COURT:** Well, let me ask you about that now that  
21 you've raised that point. Aren't those expectation interests  
22 as opposed to reliance interests? Usually reliance interest is  
23 a change in position in reliance on something, something you've  
24 done that you would not have done otherwise, and I'm not sure  
25 what that would be here. People may expect that they are going

1 to be able to stay here longer, but it is a temporary -- nobody  
2 was promised permanent status here. So I'm not sure what --  
3 there's no example in the complaint of what people have done in  
4 reliance that they would not have done had they known. It's  
5 really an expectation that is based on expectation that certain  
6 rules would apply before the TPS status would be terminated.

7 **MS. BANSAL:** It's a reliance interest, Your Honor, and  
8 the example that we give in the complaint that I think is most  
9 close to this question is that plaintiff Hiwaida Elarabi, for  
10 example, she's held TPS for 20 years. In 2015 she made a  
11 decision to invest in a restaurant. She made a decision to  
12 start her own business. When the TPS termination was  
13 announced, she sold that business because of the uncertainty,  
14 and she sold it at a loss.

15 So people are making decisions about their lives that are  
16 different from the decisions they might make if they thought  
17 they would have to return to their countries before conditions  
18 in their country had actually significantly improved.

19 Another example, Your Honor, is we have several plaintiffs  
20 who are, you know, college students. We have plaintiff Maria  
21 Jose Ayala Flores who has decided to study math at college  
22 because she wants to be a math teacher. If she thought that  
23 she was going to have to return to her country, she might make  
24 a different decision about what to study. So we do think they  
25 are reliance interests and not just expectation interests,



1 Your Honor.

2 **THE COURT:** What would be the reliance interest there?  
3 Studying a different subject or not going to college or what?  
4 I'm not sure I understand it.

5 **MS. BANSAL:** I think the choices that are made could  
6 be, yeah, to not go to college and to instead get a degree in  
7 whatever job is most in need in the other country.

8 Decisions are being made with the assumption that people  
9 are able to stay and won't have to return to their countries  
10 until conditions have improved, and I do think people would  
11 make different decisions about what to study, about whether to  
12 go to college, about what job to take, about what business to  
13 invest in.

14 **THE COURT:** I guess the hard thing about that -- I  
15 mean, I understand what you're saying. I think the hard part  
16 about that is that it's not like, you know, you're guaranteed  
17 to stay here 10 years and now we're shortening it to 5 years.  
18 It's always 6 months, 6 months, 12 months, 12 months, maybe 18  
19 months. And it's subject to periodic review.

20 And especially given the lack of judicial review on the  
21 merits, it's not so much based on, you know, objective  
22 conditions on the ground by itself, but the Secretary's  
23 assessment of that, which is largely unreviewable under this  
24 statute. So reliance interests seem to be tempered to some  
25 extent.

1           **MS. BANSAL:** In a practical way, the reliance interest  
2 is the assumption that the Secretary -- maybe the decision is  
3 not reviewable, but it will be made in a nonarbitrary way, and  
4 that there won't be this sudden change when -- from the  
5 plaintiffs' awareness of what's going on in their country  
6 nothing has really changed, but the decision that comes out is  
7 completely different and is not in line with the decisions that  
8 have been made in the previous 20 years.

9           **THE COURT:** All right. Let's talk about the discovery  
10 issues. I know some of this is sort of conditional on what  
11 this Court decides on the merits, but if we assume for the  
12 moment that I find that the jurisdictional-stripping provision  
13 of 1254a does not preclude either the constitutional claims or  
14 the challenge to the procedural broader systemic change in  
15 criteria that the plaintiff allows, that determination is to be  
16 narrowly construed to mean the individual country-by-country  
17 determination, which is fact based, and that at least there's  
18 an APA claim that's been stated once we get past the  
19 jurisdictional issue and at least, as alleged, an equal  
20 protection claim.

21           I'm less certain about the due process claims. But  
22 assuming there is a constitutional claim and an APA claim and  
23 it goes forward, what do we do about discovery and how does  
24 this fit into a larger time frame in terms of what is  
25 happening? Because we have to look forward in terms of what

1 the sequence of events are. I guess the first TPS holders that  
2 will be affected are those from Sudan in November and then  
3 followed by -- what's the next country?

4 **MR. MARTIN:** Nicaragua.

5 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Nicaragua in January, Your Honor.

6 **THE COURT:** Nicaragua in January. And should this  
7 case proceed, we need to give ourselves enough time to  
8 adjudicate whatever we're going to have to adjudicate, and I  
9 want to be able to do that in time enough so that whoever  
10 doesn't prevail will have a chance to seek appellate relief or  
11 appellate review. So I don't want to wait until the last  
12 minute, which is one reason why I said at the first CMC that I  
13 want to make sure that we don't get hung up on discovery or the  
14 record and not be able to address the merits of these claims.

15 So I guess the first question I have with respect to this  
16 dispute that's ongoing with regard to discovery is assuming  
17 that an administrative record has to be put together and  
18 produced, what is in the administrative record? And the  
19 administrative record generally should include things that are  
20 broad, anything that was directly or indirectly considered by  
21 the agency decision-makers. And so that would seem to  
22 encompass not just formal communications, putting aside  
23 privileges, but it would -- it would -- anything that was  
24 considered directly or indirectly, and that would include  
25 things that were considered and seen by those who helped the

1 decision-maker under the law as I understand it.

2 So I want to get the parties' sense. And if that's the  
3 case, I'm not sure what else outside the record would be needed  
4 here. But let me hear from the government first because you've  
5 begun to look at the potential administrative records, I  
6 understand.

7 **MR. MARTIN:** Begun compiling them, yes, Your Honor.

8 **THE COURT:** Yes.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** So as you said, it would be whatever the  
10 Secretary herself considered; and then from whatever who was  
11 advising the Secretary, what they considered. And at this  
12 point we've identified 15 people who would have had input to  
13 the Secretaries at one time or another and are looking through  
14 their materials to see, you know, what they relied upon, what  
15 they have that might be -- comprise part of the record.

16 It is -- because we're still reviewing the materials, we  
17 have, I think, as we mentioned in the letter, down to about  
18 35,000 materials from 20 custodians. You know, obviously those  
19 are not all part of the record, but that's the universe of  
20 materials that we're reviewing. And we're also interviewing  
21 other people who might have potentially had some input that  
22 would have met the criteria of someone who was advising the  
23 Secretary.

24 **THE COURT:** Now, your letter refers to including  
25 formal recommendations and assessments as part of the

1 government agencies but will exclude informal deliberations.

2 **MR. MARTIN:** Yes, Your Honor.

3 **THE COURT:** I'm not sure what that means, informal.  
4 If they are considered directly or indirectly, at least they  
5 fall within the *prima facie* definition of what should be an  
6 administrative record. Maybe there's some privileges there,  
7 but I -- it seems to me that -- I'm not sure what that means,  
8 informal.

9 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, so in the context of that  
10 paragraph, Your Honor, what we were trying to say was that we  
11 are including materials that would normally be deliberative.  
12 Because of the statutory framework, the statute requires DHS to  
13 consult with other relevant government agencies, so the State  
14 Department for instance. And so materials that in the -- you  
15 know, in other types of APA cases would have been deliberative,  
16 we are going to be waiving deliberative process privilege rules  
17 because of the statutory framework.

18 **THE COURT:** Right.

19 **MR. MARTIN:** And so in the same informal  
20 deliberations, we were saying that we were -- you know, because  
21 although we were, you know, waiving privilege with respect to  
22 these things under the statute, informal communications and  
23 e-mails between various people would be excluded from the  
24 record.

25 **THE COURT:** Why would those be excluded at least under

1 the normal definition of administrative record as long as it  
2 was up for consideration? It was -- again, even indirectly  
3 considered, it should be part of the administrative record.

4 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, I think the point was that they're  
5 informal deliberations. So, you know, they're deliberative in  
6 nature not factual in that those would be normal we will be  
7 withholding.

8 **THE COURT:** Is that because of the deliberative  
9 process privilege or you don't think that that even falls  
10 within the definition of what's in the administrative record?

11 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, it would depend upon a particular  
12 document. Sorry. It's hard -- a little bit hard to answer  
13 that in the abstract, so I would say both, Your Honor. I mean,  
14 because some would be deliberative process and then others  
15 would be materials we would not consider to be part of the  
16 record.

17 **THE COURT:** All right. What's -- who's going to argue  
18 on the part of the --

19 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Your Honor, I hope after I finish  
20 this or at some point before we go, you'll give us a chance  
21 just to say two or three very quick things on the equal  
22 protection and the due process claims. It will be very fast.  
23 I hope --

24 **THE COURT:** Why don't you --

25 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Do that now?

1           **THE COURT:** You mean on the merits?

2           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes.

3           **THE COURT:** Well, why don't you say that now because I  
4 want to move to the next stage.

5           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Sure, Your Honor. Just to refer  
6 the Court to, this is now the children's claim, *Martinez*  
7 *deMendoza* is a Third Circuit case that says if you're going to  
8 an unsafe country, the analysis might be different on one of  
9 these *de facto* deportation claims; *Israel v. INS*, which is a  
10 Ninth Circuit case cited in the *Bustamante* decision where they  
11 hold that conditioning of voluntary departure grant on the  
12 promise that the person not marry violates the right to family  
13 integrity; and we cite those only to say that we do think there  
14 is balancing here. If the Court agrees, if you can get us that  
15 far, then we're in a factual dispute, and we'll bring experts  
16 to show the interest and things like that, so we should survive  
17 the motion to dismiss if there is any balancing at all to be  
18 done on the due process point.

19           And then the only other point my co-counsel asked me to  
20 suggest is I know that the Court is -- obviously it's very  
21 difficult for everyone with the Muslim ban decision coming. I  
22 wonder if we might allow supplemental briefing on the equal  
23 protection claim depending on what the decision says.

24           **THE COURT:** I may do that.

25           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** It's something that the Court can

1 consider.

2 On the discovery questions, Your Honor --

3 **THE COURT:** Yes.

4 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** -- so I think the first thing we  
5 would want is for the defendants to respond to the discovery  
6 requests because we're past 30 days, or the Court to deem them  
7 waived, I suppose, is the other option. When we had the meet  
8 and confer at the Court's -- because the Court had ordered it  
9 on May 8th, and so the responses were due June 7th. This is --  
10 I'm not talking here about the administrative record; the other  
11 discovery requests that we've made. Those were very targeted,  
12 focused on the particular claims that we're talking about here  
13 today.

14 For example, the government said in our discussions, our  
15 meet-and-confer discussions, that there are documents  
16 responsive to Interrogatory 1, it's the only interrogatory, and  
17 RFP1, which are guidances or policies about what criteria to  
18 consider in the decision. That seems --

19 **THE COURT:** And that would fall within the rubric of  
20 an administrative record; right?

21 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I don't know if it would or not.

22 **THE COURT:** Why wouldn't it?

23 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Because at least they -- as they  
24 are defining it, I'm not sure that it would be something that  
25 was considered by the -- by the Secretary. If there was law,



1 say, from 1995 and some policy guidance that then was the  
2 governing law and the Secretary never looked at it and then  
3 disregarded it, then I'm not sure. I don't know what they --  
4 what their conception is. But in our view, it doesn't matter  
5 whether it's not in the administrative record. It goes to the  
6 unexplained departure claim. It is an exception to the rule  
7 that you are limited to the administrative record. Under the  
8 Ninth Circuit law, the *Center for Biological Diversity* case,  
9 which they cite, says that if the agency has not explained its  
10 decision, that's one reason why you might be able to go outside  
11 the administrative record.

12 **THE COURT:** Well, here there's a little bit of a  
13 chicken-and-egg problem, that is whether there was a change in  
14 decision, and part of your discovery kind of goes to that  
15 question. So it's a little bit of a cart -- which is the cart  
16 and which is the horse here.

17 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Well, I think -- but don't we get  
18 the benefit of the chicken-and-egg difference there? Because  
19 we have pled that there is a new rule, and now we get to --  
20 assuming that we have pled enough to survive the motion to  
21 dismiss, then we should be able to get discovery on that  
22 question. RFP1 -- and it shouldn't -- it doesn't have to be  
23 limited to the administrative record if what we -- the claim  
24 we're making is that there's an unexplained departure. So  
25 that's one.

1 Another one, Your Honor, RFP4 asks for communications with  
2 outside entities, like Congress or some nongovernmental  
3 organizations like anti-immigrant organizations, asking for  
4 what communications they had with the government about TPS and  
5 what the government said to them. Those also might help to  
6 prove the equal protection claim or the new rule claim.

7 RFP6 and 7 is about the testimony, the materials that were  
8 given to the Secretaries when they presented their testimony.  
9 That's the testimony that I and my co-counsel were quoting to  
10 you, Your Honor, where they sort of sound like they're saying  
11 that they're limited to the originating conditions. We've  
12 gotten no response to those.

13 Again, in our meet and confers, the government said we  
14 think -- I don't want to put words in my friend's mouth, but  
15 something like they have a person going to look to see if there  
16 is a packet of material that was given to the Secretary to  
17 prepare them for the testimony. We would like to see the  
18 document that was produced. They've had it now for almost 60  
19 days. So that's our first ask about discovery separate from  
20 this administrative record question.

21 And those -- so the last one I should mention, Your Honor,  
22 the 30(b)(6) deposition.

23 **THE COURT:** So the ones that you are prioritizing are  
24 requests RFP1 --

25 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** 4.

1           **THE COURT:** -- 4.

2           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** 6, 7, the 30(b)(6) deposition, and  
3 maybe -- these are in the brief we filed yesterday, Your Honor,  
4 so -- in the section of it about the old requests. I may be  
5 missing one, but that's -- that's one ask that we have.

6           **THE COURT:** And there are supplemental requests.

7           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes. So the supplemental requests,  
8 Your Honor, I think they sort of circle back to this question  
9 we had at the very beginning about whether we should -- whether  
10 we're doing now jurisdictional discovery to prove subject  
11 matter jurisdiction.

12           **THE COURT:** Well, your position is that we don't need  
13 to because the challenge that the government has brought is of  
14 a legal nature, a facial nature, and I have to resolve this --  
15 really interpretation of 1254a is a critical question; and if  
16 that -- if I resolve that in favor of the plaintiffs, then  
17 there is at least jurisdiction for purposes of considering the  
18 rest of the case.

19           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** That's right, Your Honor. And so  
20 Your Honor's order said tell us -- tell the Court what you  
21 would ask for specifically. So we took that order seriously,  
22 and we gave you exactly our current best guess as to what we  
23 would ask for.

24           But I think what our preference would be would be if the  
25 Court were to say, "I find 1254a does not bar this claim, and

1 so it can proceed under summary judgment," then we'll -- I  
2 mean, it will look a lot like that but, you know, we did that  
3 in two days. So, you know, we would propound perhaps some more  
4 very targeted discovery focused on proving these particular  
5 claims.

6 **THE COURT:** So your priority is, right now as we sit  
7 here, is Request for Document Productions 1, 4, 6, and 7, and  
8 you say 30(b)(6) deposition. That would -- is that about the  
9 document-gathering process or the merits?

10 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** It would be about the merits. I  
11 think it would be -- I mean, it might cover some of the  
12 document-gathering process depending on how we timed it, but I  
13 think our primary concern in that would be the two areas: Is  
14 there an unexplained departure from prior practice? Was there  
15 a conscious, intentional departure from the prior practice?  
16 And then, second, race discrimination and what are the  
17 mechanisms by which the President's and White House's racist  
18 immigration imperatives were brought to bear on the TPS  
19 decision-making process.

20 **THE COURT:** Well, that's biting off a lot for a  
21 30(b)(6) deposition, isn't it?

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Perhaps, Your Honor. Maybe. But,  
23 anyway, my point is those are the things that we would  
24 prioritize because we're interested in targeted discovery to  
25 get the preliminary injunctions off the ground.

1           **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me -- yeah, go  
2 ahead.

3           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** You had asked about the timing for  
4 Sudan and Nicaragua.

5           **THE COURT:** Yes.

6           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** In our discussions when they were  
7 describing the size of the administrative record that they want  
8 to produce, they're very small. And when you look at these  
9 requests that we have focused on as well, I suspect the volume  
10 of documents for at least the ones that I just mentioned to you  
11 must be extremely small. And so we don't believe that there's  
12 a justification for limiting those to only one or two  
13 countries.

14           And also just thinking out -- and, of course, this is,  
15 knock on wood, only if we win -- defeat the motion to dismiss,  
16 but if we don't do it that way, Your Honor, we're going to file  
17 *seriatim* preliminary injunction motions, which is going to be  
18 bad.

19           **THE COURT:** So what you are intending is one master  
20 preliminary injunction hearing?

21           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes. If we have -- we may have  
22 enough already. We've done a lot more investigation since we  
23 were here a month ago. But if we got the discovery responses,  
24 and my conception of what these discovery responses are I think  
25 would apply across the decision-making process generally, our

1 hope would be to file one preliminary injunction motion.

2           **THE COURT:** And let me ask, whether you call it  
3 jurisdictional discovery or not, one of your burdens, it seems  
4 to me, is to make your case that there has, in fact, been a  
5 change, that there is -- that's a lot about what we've been  
6 discussing. Do the supplemental requests go to that question  
7 on the merits?

8           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Some of them go to that question  
9 and some of them go to equal protection questions. I'm  
10 prepared to talk about -- if you have questions, I'm prepared  
11 to talk about those particular requests because some of them  
12 are very specific as I'm sure you can see.

13           But our main reason for raising this point about whether  
14 it's jurisdictional discovery, or instead sort of pre-summary  
15 judgment discovery, is because we would prefer not to have had  
16 to produce that now and instead be allowed to get the responses  
17 to the discovery we propounded 60 days ago, see what's in  
18 there, and then, you know, perhaps proceed further.

19           And it seems somewhat unfair. Obviously, the Court has  
20 been extremely fair. I don't mean to suggest in general. But  
21 we shouldn't have to do jurisdictional discovery now on what is  
22 a merits question without first seeing the responses to the  
23 discovery that we already propounded.

24           And, you know, as I said, we read Your Honor's comments  
25 last time to say that we ought now to be in a position to

1 discuss the actual discovery disputes. And obviously we can't  
2 do that because they haven't responded. We don't know. They  
3 haven't said that they have documents or don't specifically.  
4 They haven't said what objections they're going to raise. So  
5 that's why our position -- and they've blown the deadline on  
6 responding.

7 **THE COURT:** What's your position with respect to the  
8 production of the administrative record? Let's say discovery  
9 is ordered, responses are ordered to these -- at least to the  
10 request for production, and we'll have to talk about the  
11 30(b)(6) deposition, what's your view about the production of  
12 the administrative record?

13 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Given the size that they have  
14 described it to be, the Court should order they should produce  
15 it in 14 days, should order it -- excuse me, should order that  
16 it be produced -- I think we said 4 to 10 days rolling  
17 production and then 14 for objections. So assuming there's not  
18 a basis to -- yeah, so then, you know, it ought to be 10 days  
19 or 14 days.

20 And also, Your Honor, this is something from the *Regent's*  
21 order, that if they are excluding evidence from the  
22 administrative record based on what would have been an  
23 assertion of privilege, the discussion that you and my friend  
24 were having earlier, that they log that so that we treat the  
25 documents that would otherwise have been properly in the

1 administrative record but were excluded on the basis of  
2 privilege as though they are withheld documents for which we  
3 could then challenge them.

4 **THE COURT:** All right. And looking forward, what is  
5 the timing of the next series of events here given the --  
6 what's going to happen towards the end of the year, November?

7 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** We want to file -- we haven't  
8 figured out the exact timing, but I think somewhere in  
9 August-September, somewhere in there we want to file a  
10 preliminary injunction motion. And so we want the documents in  
11 two weeks if we're -- no later than that; and then if we're  
12 going to have discovery disputes, as Your Honor had suggested,  
13 we'll have them during the summer.

14 As for interlocutory, I don't know if it would be  
15 interlocutory, but appeals, Your Honor, if any of the case  
16 survives, our preference would just be to do it simultaneously,  
17 which I know is hard for everyone, but it's really hard for our  
18 clients to live with this, you know, sort of hammer hanging  
19 over their heads, and the decisions that they're making are  
20 extremely, extremely hard. So I think if we have to litigate  
21 into -- in the Ninth Circuit and the District Court at the same  
22 time, I think we'd rather do that than wait longer to put them  
23 in even more of a difficult position as the deadlines come  
24 closer.

25 **THE COURT:** You mean to have an omnibus -- I'm not



1 sure what you mean. You mean to have one single preliminary  
2 injunction hearing?

3 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Correct, Your Honor. I was just  
4 referring to -- Your Honor had said, "Oh, well, whichever way  
5 my ruling goes, we might want time for -- on the motion to  
6 dismiss." I mean, we might want time for interloc -- I mean,  
7 appellate review.

8 **THE COURT:** I was talking about appellate review if we  
9 got to the stage of preliminary injunction because that's where  
10 the rubber hits the road.

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I understand, Your Honor.

12 **THE COURT:** I wasn't talking about granting a 1252  
13 interlocutory appeal on a motion to dismiss because there will  
14 be time enough. That's why I want to advance the preliminary  
15 injunction because then the merits of whatever we rule today  
16 here, if it goes forward, can be heard in one, rather than  
17 trying to chop it up in pieces. But it does put a premium in  
18 getting this heard well in advance of the November date.

19 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes, Your Honor.

20 **THE COURT:** So you're looking at an August or  
21 September filing?

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Yes. To be honest with you, we  
23 haven't internally talked to fix a date because we wanted to  
24 come here and argue the motion to dismiss, but we'd be happy to  
25 provide very shortly with the Court -- to the Court and to the

1 government the date by which we'll file the preliminary  
2 injunction.

3 **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me --

4 **THE CLERK:** At the last hearing we set a preliminary  
5 injunction hearing.

6 **THE COURT:** We already set a date, I guess.

7 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** We set a date for the hearing, yes,  
8 which was September something. I can't remember.

9 **THE COURT:** And I think didn't we set a date for --

10 **THE CLERK:** The motion to be filed August 23rd.

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** August 23rd, yes. Thank you so  
12 much.

13 **THE COURT:** So we did get ahead of ourselves. We did  
14 set a date already.

15 So that means discovery matters have to be resolved  
16 quickly.

17 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** I apologize, Your Honor. I had  
18 forgotten that we had fixed that precise date.

19 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me hear from -- the  
20 government's response.

21 What's wrong with producing responses to requests for  
22 productions 1, 4, 6, and 7?

23 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, if we're moving past the record for  
24 the moment, Your Honor --

25 **THE COURT:** Yeah.

1           **MR. MARTIN:** -- I could just give you an update on  
2 where we are.

3           For Number 4, that is an exceptionally broad request that  
4 involves -- would involve looking through the files of numerous  
5 agency people. I mean, this is, you know, not a targeted,  
6 discrete request.

7           **THE COURT:** But the subject matter is fairly discrete.  
8 It's about the decision to extend or terminate the designations  
9 for these four countries, which all occurred after -- what was  
10 the first decision date or discussion on this?

11           **MR. MARTIN:** November 2017, I believe.

12           **THE COURT:** Interrogatory Number 1 sets a date of  
13 November 8th, 2016. I forget what the significance of what  
14 that date is. Is that --

15           **MR. MARTIN:** I believe it's the election date itself.

16           **THE COURT:** Oh, okay. Yeah, that was the election  
17 date, wasn't it?

18           So it means for a period of about a year, maybe a little  
19 more than a year about these four, and I don't know how many --  
20 I mean --

21           **MR. MARTIN:** So maybe it would help elucidate this  
22 point if I sort of gave you the numbers on what we have for  
23 some of the other --

24           **THE COURT:** Yeah.

25           **MR. MARTIN:** So for some of the requests that were --

1 that we were able to formulate meaningful search terms for, for  
2 example, Request Number 2 and 3, we have found a total of  
3 almost 7,000 documents. For 6 and 7 -- and it's 14,000  
4 documents and families.

5 **THE COURT:** For 6 and 7?

6 **MR. MARTIN:** No, that was for 2 and 3.

7 **THE COURT:** Oh.

8 **MR. MARTIN:** For 6 and 7, we're looking at about  
9 13,000 documents based on our current search terms.

10 **THE COURT:** Those are the number of documents used to  
11 prepare Secretary Kelly and then Secretary Nielsen for their  
12 testimony?

13 **MR. MARTIN:** We're reviewing them to make sure that  
14 they're responsive, but based on -- those are the numbers that  
15 have come back for the search terms we formulated for those.

16 And, similarly --

17 **THE COURT:** I find it a little hard to believe that  
18 the Secretary reviewed 12,000 documents to prepare for -- I  
19 mean, maybe I underestimate. I assume that would be narrower  
20 once -- well, go ahead.

21 **MR. MARTIN:** Well, it probably will be narrower once  
22 they're actually reviewed. You know, these are -- the search  
23 terms are just the first sort of step in trying to isolate  
24 these documents.

25 **THE COURT:** Yeah.

1           **MR. MARTIN:** I'm just trying to give you a sense of,  
2     you know, how much material is out there because of, you know,  
3     the vastness of the government agencies and the number of  
4     people and the custodians involved. You know, this isn't a  
5     situation where there's just, you know, one file box with  
6     everything, and so --

7           **THE COURT:** But it's a pretty discrete subject matter.  
8     I mean, if you look -- the key seems to be 1 and 4. One is  
9     statements, documents about what factors to consider and  
10    whether to extend or terminate. You know, I don't know how  
11    much there will be. That's about the criteria, not the actual  
12    decision itself, as I read it. And there may not be any. You  
13    say that there was no change. Your response may be there's no  
14    documents in that regard. I don't know.

15          And then 4 is the one that kind of gets to the nub of, you  
16    know, what documents were actually considered or what  
17    communications there were regarding the decision to terminate,  
18    and that seems to me something very closely aligned with what  
19    would have to be produced in the administrative record anyway.

20          There's discussions, considerations, communications about  
21    terminating the designations for these four countries. That's  
22    what's at issue here. So that's why I asked the question  
23    actually: Wouldn't this be in the administrative record anyway  
24    because if it is, what's the harm in getting that produced  
25    whether by way of handing over the administrative record or

1 doing an advance portion of the administrative record? It  
2 seems like this is well within what would normally have to --  
3 you know, what would be produced if there were an  
4 administrative record.

5 **MR. MARTIN:** I think it's certainly true for Number 1,  
6 Your Honor, or Interrogatory Number 1 and RFP Number 1. Four  
7 would be a little bit different because we're talking about,  
8 you know, communications with members of Congress,  
9 international bodies, nongovernmental organizations. You know,  
10 I don't know that that is typically the type of material that  
11 would be in the record depending upon who it's coming from  
12 within the agencies.

13 **THE COURT:** Let me ask -- let me ask the plaintiffs  
14 then. Correspondence with members of Congress, why is that --  
15 what's the relevance of that?

16 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Two ways. There are a number of  
17 members of Congress who wrote advocating the extension of the  
18 TPS decisions that then were -- resulted in terminations. The  
19 responses to those may manifest a legal interpretation.

20 And then on the other side, there were Congresspeople who  
21 I think were supportive of the termination of TPS, and those  
22 communications also may manifest either as to the equal  
23 protection claim or as to the APA claim.

24 The other one in there, Your Honor, is about  
25 nongovernmental organizations. The complaint -- I think it may

1 be something we discovered after and is in the response to the  
2 motion to dismiss and not in the complaint, but there was  
3 communication from anti-immigrant organizations -- well,  
4 anti-immigrant organizations, I think it's the Center for  
5 Immigration Studies or perhaps it's FAIR, they listed this, the  
6 need to end TPS as one of their kind of priority immigration  
7 goals.

8 **THE COURT:** So, in other words, this may shed light on  
9 sort of the knowledge and state of mind and position of the  
10 agency, so it's not -- and this could be post -- post-decision?

11 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** It could be, Your Honor. But the  
12 fact -- a trier of fact would get to look at even a  
13 post-decision.

14 **THE COURT:** Right. So there's where the difference is  
15 between the administrative record, which is generally  
16 predecisional, things considered, versus probative value of the  
17 state of mind after, and therein lies the difference. Because  
18 if you're asserting an equal protection violation, an invidious  
19 purpose, then post-decision statements can shed light as  
20 probative of what -- that's why you have to go beyond. That's  
21 your argument why you go beyond the administrative record.

22 **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** Absolutely, Your Honor. So the  
23 President's statements about Haiti and El Salvador may shed  
24 light on the motive on Sudan and Nicaragua even though those  
25 decisions had already been made.

1           **THE COURT:** And with respect to the 30(b)(6), your  
2 plan would be once you get these documents and presumably the  
3 administrative record, you would be prepared to do a 30(b)(6)  
4 deposition on all these topics?

5           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** You know, we haven't spoken  
6 internally about whether the topics are two disparate and  
7 whether we would want two witnesses for half a day instead of  
8 one for seven hours. That's the discussions we haven't had.  
9 But, yes, we would want to have a 30(b)(6) deposition to cover  
10 at least the two big buckets, you know, the -- I don't think  
11 the due process claim for the children requires a lot of  
12 discovery, but the other two, the APA and the equal protection  
13 claim, do potentially.

14           **THE COURT:** All right.

15           **MR. ARULANANTHAM:** One other thing, Your Honor, when  
16 my friend says it's overbroad, there's a lot of documents.  
17 Your Honor wanted us not to be in this position today, you  
18 know, and then we should have gotten their objection, and we  
19 should have had a meet-and-confer about why we need to narrow  
20 the search terms.

21           We repeatedly asked them, we said, "Tell us the search  
22 terms you're using because we want to narrow them," and they  
23 weren't willing to do that today. So I think -- I'm not sure  
24 they should be getting the benefit of saying that now when they  
25 had the opportunity to have a substantive discussion, and we



1 could be arguing here about why is your search pulling whatever  
2 it was, tens of thousands of documents for this testimony  
3 preparation.

4 There must be a packet that was given to the Secretary,  
5 "These are the things that you should read in preparation of  
6 your testimony." Why are they doing search terms?

7 **THE COURT:** All right. Let me ask counsel for the  
8 government.

9 First, is there any reason why you can't produce the  
10 administrative record since you've been working on it for some  
11 time now and you have a good fix at least of what you think the  
12 administrative record is?

13 And I hope you will take into account the Court's comment  
14 about the breadth of the administrative record extending to  
15 those materials directly or indirectly considered by any agency  
16 decision-makers, why they can't be produced, let's say, in 10  
17 days?

18 **MR. MARTIN:** I know that we are able to do that for  
19 Sudan and Nicaragua. There are three or four days of technical  
20 work that has to be done that gets built into our production  
21 deadline.

22 I know that we could do that for Sudan and Nicaragua, and  
23 I would ask for Haiti and El Salvador to be able to produce two  
24 weeks after that.

25 **THE COURT:** All right. Well, let me -- and with

1 respect to -- so you've not had a meet and confer with counsel  
2 with respect to Request for Productions 1, 4, 6, and 7?

3 **MR. MARTIN:** We've had two conversations about where  
4 we stood; and the fact that we were producing documents, I  
5 think plaintiffs' counsel thought we were going to be in a  
6 position to say, "You know, here are the X number of  
7 documents," and we can -- we give you objections to each one,  
8 or something. I'm not quite sure what they thought we would be  
9 doing.

10 But I want to emphasize how much work we have been doing  
11 in compiling these documents, and it is more laborious than I  
12 think plaintiffs believe, but that is the case.

13 You know, if -- you know, the numbers I gave you just now  
14 were just for, you know, just a handful of those documents, and  
15 so -- or a handful of those requests, rather.

16 **THE COURT:** Well, all right. So let's put it this  
17 way: I'd like you to meet and confer right after this hearing  
18 to talk about the specifics of Requests 1, 4, 6, and 7, and for  
19 you to explain what it is you -- the complications and the  
20 scope issues and the search terms, that kind of stuff, to see  
21 whether there's something you-all can agree to to work that out  
22 more quickly.

23 And I will say that my inclination is that -- and I will  
24 get out a ruling quickly, if nothing more than a skeletal  
25 ruling at least at first so that you know where we're headed

1 with respect to the motion to dismiss.

2 Should this case or parts of this case survive, then I am  
3 inclined to order the production in responses to 1, 4, 6, and  
4 7; and for then also the parties to meet and confer about the  
5 possibility of a 30(b)(6) deposition, and to order that the  
6 administrative record be produced quickly because we are coming  
7 up upon an August 23rd deadline for filing of a brief, if we  
8 get to that point, opening brief on a preliminary injunction  
9 motion. And we don't have time to really delay that because  
10 then we're -- you know, the hearing is not until September, and  
11 we need to hear this matter before then -- by then.

12 So with that, I'm going to take the matter under  
13 submission, and then get out a ruling fairly quickly once I've  
14 reviewed some more of the cases that you-all have cited.

15 And then I'd like you to meet and confer on a provisional  
16 production or at least provisionally conditionally on if this  
17 case were to proceed on the discovery matters that I just  
18 mentioned.

19 **MR. MARTIN:** And just to follow-up on the deadlines  
20 for the administrative record, we're going with 10 days from  
21 today for --

22 **THE COURT:** I'll say this for now: I would say 10  
23 days for Sudan and Nicaragua, and within a week after that for  
24 El Salvador and Haiti. All right?

25 All right. Thank you.

